



THE THIRTEEN COLONIES: NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA, CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA

HELEN AINSLIE SMITH

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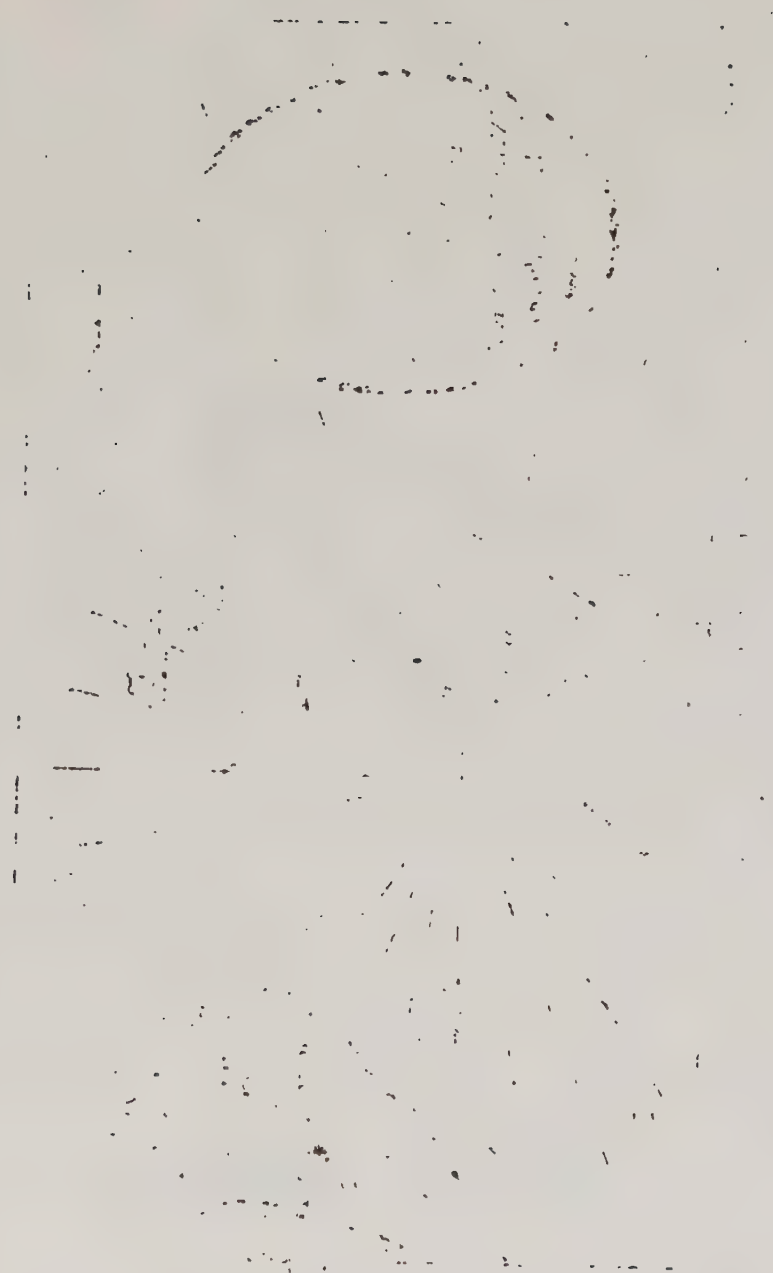


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THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

152311

BY

HELEN AINSLIE SMITH

AUTHOR OF "ONE HUNDRED FAMOUS AMERICANS," "STORIES OF PERSONS
AND PLACES IN AMERICA," "THE COLONIES"
"ANIMALS: WILD AND TAME," ETC.

IN TWO PARTS

PART II

NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA,
CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH
CAROLINA, GEORGIA

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THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

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THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

CHAPTER I

NEW JERSEY, FIFTH COLONY — A CENTURY OF PROPRIETARY CHANGES

BETWEEN DUTCHMEN AND INDIANS

THE remarkable peninsula which has been known for over two hundred years as New Jersey was, half a century earlier, part of New Netherland, planted, some say, by the earliest of the Dutch colonists, and accordingly it is ranked next to its great neighbour as the fifth colony among the Thirteen.

None of the land which Hudson discovered attracted him more than this, as he coasted it in the sultry heat of the last week in August, 1609. Some say that the Dutch traders sent out the next year selected the rocky shoulder of land now known as Jersey City Heights for a factory and redoubt, at the same time that they set up a post on Manhattan Island. Four years later, three scouts from Fort

Nassau on the Noorde or North River, following streams and Indian trails in search of peltries, came upon what they called the Zuyde or South River,—the English name was Delaware,—and descended it with delight until they were captured by some Indians and held for ransom. Then a runner, probably taking the trail from what is now Gloucester, crossed the peninsula and carried the news to the Dutch at the mouth of the North River. Captain Cornelius Hendricksen went around by sea after them, exploring both bay and river and finding the region abounding in game, the banks covered with grape-vines, and the natives gentle and possessing fortunes in seal and other skins, for which Hendricksen opened a lively trade.

Nine years later, when the Dutch West India Company sent out their first colony under Captain Mey, besides, as some believe, settling one of the many groups about the mouth of the North River on the heights near the redoubt, he took eight single men and four couples married at sea to the place where the scouts had been captured. He had visited the region on more than one trading voyage, and named for himself Cape Mey, Cape Cornelius (afterward Cape Henlopen), and the bay, New Port Mey. At the mouth of Timmer Kill or Timber Creek, now a branch of the Gloucester River, he settled the colonists in a log block-house; and, not to be outdone in loyalty to the Stadtholder by Elkins on the North River, he named it also Fort Nassau. Other strong houses were built near what are now Burlington and Trenton, apparently because

they were at the end of well-beaten Indian trails, still marked by the Old Roads across the peninsula to what is now Elizabethtown, which was not a long distance for the canoeing of those days to the ever-growing post at Manhattan. It is said that the traders connected with these factories were the first white men in the country to make long journeys through the wilderness, though they also carried their peltries and took back provisions by water.

As soon as his settlers were started in their new life, Mey left them to what experiences we know not. Director William Verhulst, who succeeded him for a year, is believed to have been sent here, and not to the North River, and to have made his residence in the substantial brick house which stood for a long time on Verhulsten Island.

The lands on this bay were the first to attract attention when, in 1629, the Company granted to the board of directors the privilege of buying great tracts from the Indians for patrooneries. The agents of those great speculators, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, secured some sixteen miles square of the peninsula, including Cape Mey, besides almost twice as much above Cape Cornelius on the western shore, giving Godyn's name to the bay and probably erecting all of it into the Patroonery of Zwanendael, although their only attempt at settlement was made in what is now Delaware. The second choice in this rush for land was also on the peninsula, the slightly country at the mouth of the North River and along the western shore of the harbour, including Staaten Island. All of this was bought by

Michael Paauw, who named it Pavonia, turning into Latin his own name, Peacock in English. Paauw was a director of the Amsterdam Chamber and Lord of Achtienhoven, a great man in his day and generation. Some of his deeds from the natives are the first on record in New Netherland, dated in the summer and autumn of 1630. They named Ahasimus, which is now the heart of old Jersey City, and Hobocan Hackingh — the place of the stone from which the Indian made his hobocan or tobacco pipe. Directly opposite New Amsterdam the port of Pavonia was founded. Some people, taking the Indian name, Gamounepau, for French, called it the Commune Paauw, from which it has become Communipaw. At Ahasimus the Patroon's commissary, Paulus Van Voorst, and his good wife built themselves a home, and gave a most literal house-warming to Director Van Twiller, Dominie Bogardus, and Captain de Vries, whose journal tells the story. They partook plentifully of the hospitality of the new house, especially of the wine-cellar; had a quarrel; made it up with the aid of fresh bottles, and, at length, when the guests took leave it was with so much cordiality that the host in overflowing good will fired a salute from his swivel *steen-stuck*, or stone gun, mounted in front of the house. But it threw a spark on the reed-thatched roof, turning the salute into a bonfire, and left Van Voorst and his wife with a pile of ashes in place of their new home.

Other purchases and settlements were made on this bank, and boweries laid out, which immediately

began to prove the fruitfulness of the Garden State. A farmer at Paulus Hoeck, or Hook, laid and won a wager that on any part of a certain tract of his he could grow barley so tall that he could easily tie the ears together over his head. Nearly the whole crop grew to the height of seven feet. From the abundant crops of the Indians, the "Maize Lands" was long the name of part of this region.

It was the "Testy" Director Kieft who encouraged a tenant to put up the first of many famous breweries at Hobocan. It was he, too, who brought upon the little settlements and scattered farms the murderous attacks of the Raritan Indians in 1640, besides a much more savage war afterwards by his treacherous massacre of River tribes, who had assembled near Hackensack to offer amends for some of their young men's acts of personal vengeance. Those of Kieft's victims who escaped his massacre fell upon the innocent Pavonia people in their beds with horrible butcheries, from which a few fled to their boats and gained the protection of Fort Amsterdam by the light of their burning homes. Nothing was left of all the boweries but the blackened walls of Kieft's brew-house.

On the other side of the peninsula, while Fort Nassau flourished with the farms round about, some Englishmen from Newhaven put up buildings, and planted corn on Varcken's Kill, now Salem Creek, but were driven out by the Dutch, or rather by a few Dutchmen aiding the Swedes, who had lately planted on the west side of the bay. Soon after that it was "all New Sweden for a hundred miles"

on both shores, and Elfsborg or Elinborough, at the mouth of Varcken's Kill, made even the Dutch strike their flags for several years until Director Stuyvesant forced the Swedes to abandon it to the mosquitoes, and called it Myggenborg or Mosquito Fort.

In Stuyvesant's time, the settlements of Pavonia were destroyed and deserted again in a war waged by some of the River Indians in revenge for the death of a squaw killed for stealing Burgher Van Dyck's peaches in New Amsterdam. After everything had lain in ruins for about five years, some of the survivors obtained permission from Stuyvesant to rebuild their settlements; and Jacques Cortelyou, the first sworn city surveyor of New Amsterdam, laid out villages at Gemeenepa and at "Gweykouck, otherwise the Maize Land," afterwards Bergen. Each was a plot eight hundred feet square, surrounded by log palisades. One street ran all the way round just within the palisade, and two others traversed the centre of the plot, starting from gates in the palisade and crossing at right angles. In the open square thus formed in the heart of the village, a public well was dug, and fitted with a long sweep besides watering-troughs for cattle. Each of the quarters made by the intersecting streets was divided into eight lots, and built up with solid houses and with cattle-sheds that often were thatched with cat-tails in spite of severe laws against using inflammable materials. Beyond the gates was the Buyten Tuyn or garden plot, divided to correspond with the house lots within.

ENGLISH PALATINATE OF NEW JERSEY

There is no telling how many there were of these compact Dutch villages, some if not all with ordinances, charter, and their own officers established by the Director; but there seem to have been at least Hooboocken, Ahasymes, Bergen, Gemoene-paen, and Weehawken, when, in the autumn of 1664, Colonel Nicolls seized New Netherland for the Duke of York and Albany, naming this westerly peninsula Albania, while the larger part of the province was called New York. After Nicolls had examined his conquest more thoroughly, Albania became the apple of his eye. He was tender of the groups of worthy families, whom the Indians had so often driven from their fertile and sightly homes, and, on receiving their oath of allegiance, he allowed them to keep their courts and other customs, even to their jaw-breaking uncouth Dutch-Indian names. Soon he had messengers going through Long Island and New England to gather crowds on town squares, and proclaim the attractions of Albania. Within a year he made four grants for new towns between Hackensack and Sandy Hook.

The first was planted at the mouth of what is now Elizabethtown Creek on Newark Bay; the Dutch called the latter the Achter Koll, or bay after the great bay, which the English translated into After-cull. To some Puritan farmers, fishermen, and whalers of Connecticut and Long Island was granted the strip between the Raritan and Passaic rivers and twice the distance inland. An old chronicle says that this tract was

" the handsomest and pleasantest of territories, between two distant mountains, with a freshwater river flowing through the centre of the lowland; where the Raritan Indians who dwelt there, cultivated abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins, and other fruit."

In the fashion of New Englanders, those who received this grant formed a land company or " town association " of about fifty men, who contributed the beaver-skins to buy the tract of the Indians. A few men passed the hard winter of 1664 in a rude shelter which they built near the mouth of the " Fresh-water river," and took up the claim of " Ye Aftter Cull Colonie." Others came in the spring, taking shares in the town association, drawing their home lots and farm lots on the bay shore and the river, planting crops and building at least four good clapboarded houses, to which they brought their wives and children in the summer. But soon came the amazing news that the Duke had sold Albania to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in June, 1664, two months before Nicolls took the country from the Dutch. The " Aftter Cull " colony's title was worthless; but Nicolls bade them hold on; he was going back to England, and would plead with his Royal Highness not to give up this garden spot. But James the Mercenary had no wish to return the " competent sum of money " for which he had ceded the entire peninsula below 41° 40', " in as full and ample manner " as he had received it. He called it the province of Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey, in remembrance of the gallant

refusal of Carteret, Governor of the Island of Jersey, to lower the royal flag to the parliamentary forces in 1649. The fortress under his command had been the last of the realm to yield to the Commonwealth.

The "After Cull Colonie" of Puritans had settled within the palatinate of two Royalist Churchmen, with leniency toward Roman Catholics. Carteret, the leader in the enterprise, was the head of an old French family, who though they had long been devoted English subjects, cherished their language, their customs, and a great body of French servants and other retainers on their Jersey estates. If half of this had been known to the settlers, no man could have convinced them that they had escaped the most tyrannical government in America for one of the most enlightened. But, knowing as little as they did, before they had time to consider it, they saw a vessel come into "the cull"; hesitated a few moments, and then in a body went down to meet the company as they landed. The high-born leader stepped ashore, the story goes, with a hoe on his shoulder, a straightforward young man who presented himself as Philip Carteret, the first Governor of New Jersey; and carried the rough New England farmers and whalers by storm with his courtesy, though they knew it was "as French as parley voos." He said he was right glad to find some of his countrymen already settled in New Jersey, and hoped they would remain to help him and his companions build another great colony, where every man should have the rights of a British subject and the religion of his own conscience. Then he intro-

duced his companions, some thirty men and women, brought from France for their skill, or carefully chosen from the Jersey estates; all of whom the Puritans met awkwardly, for their looks and speech and ready gestures showed that they were of the blood most hateful to the common Englishman. Yet there seemed to be nothing to do but offer the hospitality of the four new houses, which the strangers received so gratefully and gracefully that some of the prejudice melted away.

Governor Carteret told the alarmed associates that his terms to settlers were better than those of the Duke, as indeed they were. What was more, they were offered in good faith. They included a representative Assembly to be elected once in two years, and to act with the governor, secretary, and council appointed by the proprietors. They promised protection to all Christian religions. As to land, every settler reaching the colony at his own cost was granted a freehold of fifty acres for each member of his family, servant, or slave, at the small rent of one penny the acre, and that not to be called for until after five years — until 1670, a date to be remembered. Every indented servant, at the end of his bondage, should have fifty acres and all the rights of a freeholder. These, in brief, were the proprietors' conditions to colonists, an enlightened document that stands out in the rather flat history of New Jersey; but it became a mere bone of contention, for the Puritans would never live up to their side of it, while its promises were always on their angry tongues as their irrevocable rights.

It tempted the "After Cull Colonie" to remain; and when Carteret had confirmed Nicolls's grant, they allowed him and others to buy shares in it and enter their town association. The tract was named Elizabeth Town, in honour of the wife of Sir George Carteret, and the four clapboarded houses on the "fresh-water river" became the capital.

The Dutch colonists readily gave allegiance to the new proprietors. The Governor extended their grants from the Hudson, across the Hackensack, to the Passaic River, adding to their heights several miles of well-timbered, stream-cut lowland. He also organised or confirmed for their towns a court at Bergen, which then could boast at least thirty-three heads of families, a justice, four magistrates, a constable, a town clerk, an ensign, and last but not least, a newly licensed tavern-keeper. He probably was the first of the long list of Dutch publicans famous for good beer, as the English afterwards were for their applejack, celebrated as "Jersey lightning."

In 1665, the people of at least four Dutch towns and the English capital, together with some scattered settlers, were established as the Province of New Jersey, under this

"Oath of A Leagance and Fidelity: You doe suare upon the Holy Evangelist contained in this book to bare true faith and Alegiance to our Soveraing Lord King Charles and his Successors and to be true and faithfull to the Lords propyretors their Successors and the government of this Province of New Jarsey as long as you shall

Continue an Inhabitant under the same without any Equivocation or Mentall Reservation whatsoever and so help you God."

There is no record or map to show where the founders of Elizabeth Town placed their first meeting-house, which they raised as soon as possible for Puritans, Anglicans, and Catholics to use at different times for their widely different forms of worship. It was also their town hall, no doubt; where might be found on week days the threefold officer, secretary of the province, town clerk, and justice of the peace. Whether it was a plain room or well furnished, we know not; nor whether the "Captain" behind the desk was Mr. Bullen, an English-Yankee trader, or Monsieur Bulaine, from France; but there he was, performing the marriage ceremony, writing letters to the proprietors, and driving his quill across the pages of the Town Book, whose loss, some fifty years later, obscures the whole story.

Much trouble was taken to prevent colonists from leaving the town; but soon it was difficult to accommodate newcomers. The proprietors, or Sir George Carteret alone, sent over several colonies of men and women, with supplies, farming tools, and fishing tackle. Many came from other colonies, for the Governor, following Nicolls's example, had the Concessions read aloud in the public squares of a great many villages. They always made a stir, for the promises they contained were exceedingly seductive. Freedom of conscience and equal representation to all Christian freeholders; none but mild

and friendly Indians; a garden spot of fertile soil; spring nearly a month earlier and autumn a month later than in New England—the whole winter sometimes “open.” The last promise was sometimes so far from true that people could walk on the ice all the way to New York. But hundreds of dissatisfied New Englanders heard Carteret’s call for settlers as a sign from Heaven, promising them a life according to their own particular views. In these days of Christian unity it is interesting to look back almost two hundred and fifty years and see how nearly the desires of those widely differing congregations were met in the new provinces, yet how each believed all others to be utterly wrong and chafed sorely that they could not be convinced.

Eight new towns were started within two years. The Elizabeth Town Association sold large slices of their grant on both sides, providing their sons with many bitter boundary quarrels. In 1666, the plot on the north of the famous Bound Brook, along the banks of the Passaic River, was planted chiefly by parties of uncompromising Puritans of the New-haven colony, who shook the dust of New England from their feet rather than live under the liberal commonwealth of Connecticut. First was the town of Milford, then Guilford and Branford followed, all uniting under that able man of truly divine calling, Abram Pearson, for whose birthplace in England, the plantation was named Newark—for many years written “New-worke on the Pishawack River.” The Branford people had joined only on condition that rigid Congregationalism should be transplanted

as Davenport laid it down for Newhaven, and that both freemen and office-holders of the town should be church members. The Puritanical identity of Church and State government which had been overpowered in Newhaven by the liberality of Connecticut, and which had begun to fall apart of its



FIRST CHURCH IN NEWARK.

Redrawn from Whitehead's *History of Perth Amboy*.

own weight in Massachusetts, made its last effort in New Jersey, defying the very toleration of which it availed itself, and proving its fallibility by the side of tolerant Cavalier Anglicans, French Catholics, and the most despised of all sects, George Fox's Friends, derisively called Quakers.

South of Elizabeth Town men of quite different stamp from Massachusetts and New Hampshire planted Woodbridge, Piscataqua, what is now New

Brunswick, and other places, while a party of Quakers settled Shrewsbury and Middletown under the Monmouth patent, from Nicolls, with rights of government over a large tract between the Raritan River and Sandy Hook, which they bought from the Navesink Indians. After they were established, the Duke of York and the Elizabeth Town Puritans made common cause to drive them away, but Carteret stood by the Concessions, confirmed Nicolls's grant, and found his own way to pacify his townsmen and protect the Friends. Shrewsbury, which was laid out in 1667, apparently the first place in the world under Quaker control, soon became the rallying point for all the missionaries, refugees, and colonists of the sect in America. In June the settlers held an Assembly of their own at Portland Point, now the Highlands of Navesink, and we may still read their records of "such prudential laws as they deemed advisable."

The next year, in May, 1668, Governor Carteret called to Elizabeth Town a General Assembly of representatives of "all the freeholders in New Jersey," but he knew nothing of the few scattered Dutch and Swedes on the other side of the peninsula, and his call did not reach them. The Governor and his Council of Six sat as an Upper House from the first, and the eight delegates or burgesses as a Lower House. This was fifteen years before New York had the full privilege of representative government. The colonists were in the midst of spring planting, and in five days their whole business was despatched, elections arranged, taxes voted,—five pounds a year

for each town,—the value of produce fixed for exchange (winter wheat five shillings the bushel, for instance), a military company organised under command of the Governor, and a body of laws adopted from those of Connecticut. In this Elizabeth Town Code, as it was pretentiously called, "Puritan austerity was so tempered by Dutch indifference, that mercy itself could not have dictated a milder system." But the Puritans could not fraternise with the Quakers, and showed it so brusquely that the "Navysink men," having rights of their own to fall back upon, withdrew in high dudgeon, and apparently governed themselves for about seven years.

This quarrel was the first shot in a long war, or rather a free fight, which spread throughout the Puritan settlements; the towns against the government, one town against another, the colonists against their neighbours; with the capital the hotbed of it all, to the end of the palatinate, even to the end of the province.

While they quarrelled the people worked and prospered mightily. In 1669, the Governor chartered the Elizabeth Town Whaling Company, giving twenty-one men exclusive right to take whales and other fish along the whole coast to Barnegat, a twentieth of the oil in casks going to the proprietors. An old chronicle says, "it is not possible to describe how this bay swarms with fish, both large and small, whales, tunnies, and porpoises."

In March, 1670, then (according to the Old Style chronology), the beginning of the new year, the proprietors' first rent was due, the almost nominal

penny per acre, from which everyone had been excused for five years, and which was now divided into half-yearly collections. Apparently every settler in the province had accepted this clause in the Concessions, as much as those in regard to religious freedom and self-government, yet the Governor's call for the collection was answered by a furious burst of anger from almost every settler except the Carteret colonists, the Dutch, and the people of Woodbridge.

The others refused to pay their rent, reviled the Governor, and so roughly used the collector that he feared for his life. Every act of Carteret and his adherents gave fresh offence. The frenzy was vented especially on the French settlers. A certain estimable fellow, when made a freeholder by Carteret, was mobbed by the resentful English, who "tore up his fences, beat down the clapboards of his house, plucked up the pallasades of the garden, and the hogs within an hour's time rooted up and spoiled all that was in the garden, which was full of necessary herbs."

When Captain James Carteret, a son of the proprietor, visited this province on his way to take up the hollow honours of a landgrave of Carolina, the rioters welcomed him as one who had authority above the Governor, and he was rascal enough to give his unlawful sanction to almost all they wanted, and to play Governor, while his kinsman was obliged to hide in Bergen till he could slip away to England. The Council was steadfast, and wrote to the proprietors of Captain James's conduct:

"Although hee be Sir George Carteret's sonn, and for his Father's sake we Honnour him accordingly, yet our oune reason doth persuade us that his Hon^{ble} Father will never Countenance his son in such dishonorable, unjust and violent proceedings."

Not only Sir George, but the King and the Duke, came down heavily upon the offenders, declaring Philip Carteret and no other the Governor, requiring every tenant to renew his title and pay his quit-rent, ordering indemnification for those whose property had been destroyed, and announcing that the people had forfeited some of their privileges.

Captain James, commanded by his aged father to proceed to Carolina without delay, took passage with his newly married wife and a few of his ring-leaders. Their vessel was overhauled by part of the great Dutch squadron, which was casting an eye on the colonies, after having almost swept the commerce of England from the seas. One of Captain James's companions, Samuel Hopkins, took his revenge on King, Duke, proprietors, and Governor at one blow by telling the Dutchmen of the weakness of the defences of all the country once New Netherland. Although another prisoner gave him the lie, the commanders decided to visit the harbour, and he, returning with them, saw them take both provinces from the English in September, 1673.

In the fourteen months under the States-General, the six towns "heretofore called New Yarsey" were united in a government of their own under schout, koopman, and schepens, who met "together as one board," until they received the news

that English control had been restored, that Lord Berkeley had sold his interest, and that the province had been divided into the East and West Jerseys. Sir George Carteret was sole proprietor of East Jersey, and Governor Philip was coming back.

Sir George Carteret lived but six years after he became sole proprietor of East Jersey, in 1675, but the palatinate, under many changes, survived him twenty-one years. When Governor Philip returned, with the Concessions cut down and proofs of his authority countersigned by both the King and the Duke of York, there was an uproar at once; strong drink, strong talk, town-meetings, and messengers going from place to place with calls for united resistance. But the Governor proclaimed that they and not the Lord Proprietor had broken the old agreement, that titles under the old patents had been annulled, and that the only way to escape the laws of that province was to go elsewhere. The government was still probably the most liberal of any founded upon English Common Law. The people knew it, quieted down, and took out their new deeds, allowing peace and prosperity to possess the province for five years. The Navesink Friends took their places in the Assembly, which met regularly every year at Elizabeth, Woodbridge, or Middle Town. An Act of Oblivion was passed, and a Thanksgiving Day of prayer and feasting was appointed when the autumn harvest was gathered in. Every able-bodied male between the ages of sixteen and sixty was enrolled in the militia, subject to four training days a year, which were made holidays after

the custom in the colonies. The towns were provided at this early time with their minute-men, to be ready for quick calls, and with fortified block-houses for refuge. It was an offence — seldom punished, perhaps — to sell arms and powder to the natives, and even to repair guns they already possessed. These were precautions against the spread of the Indian wars of New England, which, however, never touched New Jersey.

Scarcely any province had so little from without to interrupt its fisheries, the increase of its fruitful farms, its stock-raising, manufacture of tallow and lard, tobacco-growing, and commerce in both green and tanned hides, beef and pork, which were inspected and sealed before they were shipped up and down the coast, or to Barbadoes and St. Christopher. This industry and enterprise the proprietor rewarded by opening all the ports to free trade. But the great increase of business excited the envy of the Governor of New York, Major Edmund Andros, who, though a kinsman of Carteret, induced the avaricious Duke to give him an oar to thrust into the profitable Jersey waters. Possibly knowing what Philip did not know, that old Sir George was dying, Andros insisted on controlling not only the commerce but the government of his small neighbouring colony, and when, for a wonder, the people united with their Governor in an admirable resistance, Andros sent a party of blacklegs by night, who seized Philip in his bed and carried him, half naked, in an open boat to New York — rough usage which permanently injured his health. In

the city, he was treated as a distinguished prisoner, while Andros trumped up a charge against him and called a special court in which he himself sat as judge. But he failed to secure a verdict, although he sent out the jury twice. Then he declared that the matter should be decided in England, and, wringing from Philip a promise that he would make no attempt to resume his government, he allowed him to live in his own home and nurse his injuries. An old record says that Andros "attended by his whole retinue of ladies and gentlemen escorted Carteret . . . in great pomp to Acher Kol, with all the magnificence he could." At Elizabeth Town the party were craftily received. The Assembly presented the Concessions and their own laws for Andros's ratification, listened to his pompous address, and responded so politely, that he failed to see any special point to their loyal dependence on "the Great Charter of England, the only rule, privilege, and joint-safety of every free-born Englishman." He returned to the city believing that they hung on his will. But after Carteret recovered sufficiently to marry a lady pledged to him and return from his wedding journey, before Andros knew it, the people's outburst of welcome replaced him in the Governor's chair by acclamation. This was in 1680. No miracle had been wrought in the hearts of the colonists. They thought by this manœuvre to drive or coax the proprietor's representative into a declaration of "the old fundamental rights," as they called the first Concessions; but he was the same man as of old, and after trying for a

year and a half to bring the Assembly to reason he dissolved it. Then came the news that Sir George Carteret was dead, and that the province had been sold to Quakers and Presbyterians.

EAST JERSEY UNDER FRIENDS AND PRESBYTERIANS

In February, 1681, East Jersey was bought at auction with all its debts and dues for three thousand four hundred pounds by an association mostly composed of rich Friends and Presbyterians, both English and Scotch. They believed that they were killing two very big birds with one stone by securing a monopoly over a goodly portion of American trade which had sprung up in New Jersey, and providing an independent refuge for the persecuted of their sects. This East Jersey Association, while constantly changing its members and modifying its plans, gave money and men for twenty years to the success of refuge-making and the failure of the trade monopoly. For about seven years they were ruled by a Governor, appointed for life—Robert Barclay, the great Quaker apologist and friend of the Stuarts. His first Deputy-Governor, who displaced Philip Carteret, was Thomas Rudyard, a Quaker barrister from London.

To the Puritanical towns this change was a degree worse than anything their irritability had ever dreamed of; but Friend Rudyard and the company he brought spread peace, and a better spirit than had ever been known prevailed as long as the Association owned the province, although the first settlers

never gave up their claim to "the old fundamental rights," and the colony was never secure against meddling from New York. The government and laws were much the same as they had been, though trade was no longer free. A new act was passed against negro slavery. Popular as that traffic had been for ten years under the Duke's Royal African Company, there were as yet only about one hundred blacks in all the settlements here, even while the richer families prided themselves on being up in New York fashions.

Rudyard's Assembly took pains to establish ferries, build landings and bridges, and lay out highways, of which there was great need; but the chief undertaking of the new proprietors was to found a new capital which should be the commercial metropolis of America. Taking no soundings apparently, their officers chose for this site the place where a small stream, probably called Ambo by the Indians, falls into the head of the shallow Raritan Bay. This "Western London" was named Perth Amboy, in honour of the leading proprietor, James Drummond, Earl of Perth, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. Open purses and lively work made it possible for the second Deputy-Governor, Gawen Laurie, to hold there the spring Assembly of 1686. He declared it "conveniently situated . . . the most encouraging place for traffic by land and sea, which will occasion great course of people." But the older villages still kept the lead, and after years of struggle the capital was moved back to Elizabeth Town.

Laurie was instructed "to use all means of gentleness and tenderness with the people"—"not standing much with them upon small matters." He "got to good understanding with them," and became enthusiastic about the country, writing home:

"Now is the time to send over people for settling here. The Scots and William Dockwra's people, coming now and settling, advance the Province more than it hath been advanced these ten years. Here wants nothing but people. There is not a poor body in all the province, nor that wants; Here is abundance of provision Pork and Beef at 2d. per pound. Fish and Fowl plenty. Oysters I think would serve all England. Sider good and plenty for 1d. per Quart. Good Venison, plenty brought us [by Indians] at 18d. the quarter, eggs at 3d. the dozen, all things very plenty. Land very good as ever I saw. Wines [grape and berry vines] walnuts, peaches, Strawberries, and many other things plenty in the woods. Nor is this all. We have good brick earth and stone for building at Amboy and elsewhere."

He added a long list of the varieties of timber growing on swamp and upland. Other leaders wrote in the same key, and together they made perhaps the most glowing impression that the Old Country ever had in favour of the colonies.

Meantime the Association had lost in Friends, who had their own province of West Jersey, but had increased in Presbyterians; and when Mackenzie and Claverhouse, under the new King, James II., took their course through Scotland in the terrible

"Killing Time," the two most bitterly hunted bodies of Presbyterians, the Cameronians and Covenanters, fled to East Jersey. Rich men came over to occupy their own estates with large families, servants, and tenants. Poor men joined the stream to take up the new life on any terms they could make. So in 1686 this pleasant country became "the cradle of Presbyterianism in America."

"From the profound scholarship of the clergy and the ability of the merchants in the upper classes, to the rigid industry and thrift of the peasantry, this influx swelled the towns with a valuable accession of virtue refined by adversity."

Among these refugees was Lord Neill Campbell, an important member of the Association, who had been made Deputy-Governor in haste and fled for his life. When the King issued the "Declaration of Indulgence," he returned to his wife in Scotland, leaving the province in charge of his Council. The leading member and acting Governor was Colonel Andrew Hamilton, an Edinburgh merchant, who became a distinguished lawyer, was afterwards Deputy-Governor of both East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and still later the long-honoured Speaker of the Assembly of William Penn's province. With some breaks Hamilton kept this post at the head of East Jersey during the remaining fifteen years of the proprietary government, compelling the admiration of all by his character, intelligence, and courtesy.

He was retained, with most of his fellow-officers,

in the famous overturning in 1687, when Governor-General Sir Edmund Andros declared the province part of his Majesty's Dominion of New England, which fell to pieces the next spring on news of the King's abandonment of the throne. Hamilton checked some "factious spirits," who wanted to join Leisler's Rebellion in New York, and kept the peace so well that, Presbyterian as it was, the province became a refuge for Jacobites from England, as well as from New York and other colonies. Many of them were persons of wealth and influence. Leisler wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury that hither "our chief adversaries fly for sanctuary and are embraced."

The proprietors quietly resumed their rights, made Hamilton Governor on Barclay's death, and ordered the proclamation of William and Mary. All went well until Hamilton was obliged to "request" the Assembly's aid to defend the New York frontier. Then reason and restraint went to the winds. Who was William III. that he should force the people of East Jersey into their first war with white men or Indians? The new grievances revived old ones. Indignation raged from Assembly to town-meeting, increased by every official act intended to restore order. The "noise and howling of the people" actually closed one of the county courts. Amidst the uproar, someone cried out for the claims of the Elizabeth Town Association as heirs of the "After Cull Colonie," to all that they imagined they had received under Nicolls's grants or "the Duke's patents"—ignoring the fact that

the Duke had sold the province before they were made. Although they had been acknowledged as worthless for twenty years, men who had held shares in them began to insist on payment in full for arrears of rent from settlers on the "original tract" under Carteret grants, or, in lieu of rent, to claim the dwellings, farms, and all improvements. These atrocious demands were pushed in the courts by a test case, in which so many persons were interested on the one side or the other that the long trial was one of the most important events in the colony's history. Excitement only increased when the jury rendered their verdict in favour of "the Duke's grant," and the judgment of the court was against it. An appeal was carried to the King in Council, and William, in 1697, actually sustained the jury, declaring valid all titles under Nicolls's grant, giving powers to turn out of house and home hundreds of families who had believed that the "After Cull Colonie" had acted in good faith when they had accepted the Carteret titles in place of Nicolls's nearly thirty-five years before.

There were many evil results of this decision, but one great benefit was that the Elizabeth Town Association, then numbering one hundred and twenty members, began to open up the unsettled portion of their tract, which contained some seventeen thousand acres, more than the settled portions. Their title was unquestioned, and people who had long been afraid of them now made plantations at Connecticut Farms, Westfield, and other places, toward Springfield and Short Hills. At about the

same time New-worke's Mountain Plantations were named Orange, the Dutch title of the King, who, of course, was in high favour with the victorious party. After having unearthed one old bone of contention so successfully, the "factionous spirits" next disinterred their ancient enmity towards the proprietors, which was none the less because they were many, or because several of them lived in the province. Some even discovered that their regulations called for an English-born governor, while the able and respected Hamilton was a Scotchman. The proprietors hastily replaced him by Jeremiah Basse, a popular Anabaptist minister of Perth Amboy, who rewarded them by taking the leadership of the party now growing into a general opposition to Hamilton, the proprietors, "the majority of the people, and all the gentlemen of the best figure and fortune." Hamilton went to England; and William, who had never recognised the proprietors' government, sent him back to call an Assembly in the name of the Crown. The delegates met, but were dissolved the same day, "to keep the peace," which, however, was hopelessly broken for a time. Basse and his "miscellaneous mob" interrupted courts, stopped sheriffs from serving papers, and gave themselves over to general "breaking of Gaols, rescuing of Prisoners, and beating and abusing of officers." Besides this "there was not a little jealousy between Scotch and English," while New York again had an eye on the trade of its small neighbour, the customs-officers, and even the Assembly maintaining that their capital was the sole

port of entry for all parts of New York Harbour, waylaying the shipping and putting the East Jersey trade to confusion year after year. Even when the English Admiralty appointed the collector for Perth Amboy, and told others to keep their hands off, the New York Assembly laid duties on all its exports, and was permitted to do so by the Board of Trade. The commerce was so large that as many as forty vessels at once had been seen loading with wheat at Perth Amboy alone. The proprietors' rights were recognised by the King's Bench; but when the colonists seized upon a defect disclosed in their title to petition for Crown government, the proprietors assented, saying that the jurisdiction had long been "an expensive feather which they would gladly see in any other cap."

WEST JERSEY, THE FIRST QUAKER PROVINCE

During the quarter-century or so after the palatinate of New Jersey was divided, the Delaware shores of the peninsula were occupied by the Friends' colony of West Jersey, whose sovereign democracy was too interesting and too important an element in the colonial development to be neglected as it has been by most historians. In about the year 1674, when the "independency of the Navysink Quakers" and "turbulencies" reported by Governor Philip Carteret dampened the proprietary enthusiasm of old Lord Berkeley, the associates of George Fox were so encouraged by his view of the success of Friends under their own government at "Navysink," that they struck a bargain

with his lordship, finding him glad enough to sell his share for one thousand pounds to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge, both Friends. This was in March, 1674. In July of the next year Sir George Carteret agreed with them to a line of partition drawn from the ocean at Little Egg Harbour to the north-western corner, touching the Delaware at $40^{\circ} 41'$.

The purchase was adjusted so that Fenwick received one tenth of the province in his own right, while the rest was held for Byllinge and his creditors by a board of trustees, members of the Society of Friends, including William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and others who were afterwards interested in East Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Fenwick was their pioneer. In 1675, with his family, servants under indenture as settlers, and several others, he chose a fertile spot already historic, near an old Swedish fort on a creek bearing the musical Indian name of Oijtessing and the harsh English one of Hog. He named the place Salem because Friends loved peace; but for some time he was not permitted by the officers of Governor Andros of New York to enjoy much of that blessing. Once he was taken prisoner to the city and again forced to make the voyage thither, probably to show papers proving his title. He seems to have made friends with the Dutch about Nassau, the Swedes at Swedesborough, and other scattered settlers on this shore. It was about two years before the colony began to arrive.

Meanwhile in England Byllinge's trustees drew

up and published the Fundamental Laws of West Jersey, in which

“ No man . . . hath power over conscience. . . . The General Assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the ballot-box. Every man is capable to choose or be chosen. The electors shall give their respective deputies instructions at large, which these in their turn . . . shall bind themselves to obey. The disobedient deputy may be questioned before the Assembly by any one of his electors. Each member is to be allowed one shilling a day to be paid by his immediate constituents that he may be known as the servant of the people. The executive power rested with ten commissioners to be appointed by the Assembly; justices and constables were chosen directly by the people. . . . ‘In the jury of twelve men judgment resides. . . . Every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery. No one can be imprisoned for debt.’ . . . The native was protected; and helpless orphans educated by the state.”

With this remarkable constitution and the good wishes of Charles II., four hundred people, the first corporate immigration of Friends to the New World, entered the Delaware in June, 1677, under Thomas Olive and eight other commissioners. They made one settlement on Chygoes Island, sometimes called Matineconk, Tineconk, or Tennako, where there was one house, deserted, it was said, because two of the Dutchmen who built it or lived in it had been murdered by Indians. George Fox had lodged

there five years before, and that seemed a reason why the place, so good in itself, should be made the capital of the colony. In a tent of sail-cloth the company held meeting. The Spirit moved them to settle at once. They bought the island of the Indians, and laid out their town, which they called Byllington, and at length Burlington. Within the year, two more ships brought "many families of great respectability." Neighbouring sachems sent word, "You are our brothers, and we will live like brothers with you"; but Andros and the New York customs-officers at New Castle "insulted the sovereignty of the proprietors." Their trouble was carried to England at once, and after three years Sir William Jones, then Attorney-General, known as the greatest lawyer in England, decided against the Duke, whereupon his Royal Highness made a new grant to the trustees, yielding them every claim to the territory, trade, and government of New Jersey.

Edward Byllinge, the father of this undertaking, was naturally elected Governor by his trustees. He appointed Samuel Jennings Deputy-Governor, and he, in November, 1681, called the first Assembly, which, says Bancroft, "framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected." Even Byllinge's claim to name his deputy was resisted. On the advice of William Penn the constitution was amended and by election the office was given to Andrew Hamilton, the able Scot who for several years had been Deputy-Governor of East Jersey. The colony was increased

by people from many parts of Europe, especially from Germany — by such great numbers who were not Friends that their government was overpowered. Andros again interfered, and the people petitioned to be taken under the Crown at about the same time that East Jersey made the same request.

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CHAPTER II

A DUAL ROYAL PROVINCE

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century and of the reign of Queen Anne, the two Jerseys, without any change in their proprietors' titles to the land, were united under one government of the regulation royal pattern, which stood for seventy-three years; but in every-day talk, and even in official papers, the names East and West Jersey and strong local feeling were kept up until after the Revolution. Both divisions were about equally represented in the Council as well as in the House of Burgesses; and the General Assembly met alternately in Burlington and one of the eastern capitals, Perth Amboy or Elizabeth Town. The government, though less liberal than those of the proprietors, allowed liberty of conscience to all Christians but Papists, took the Quakers' word without oath, and allowed the House to keep immediate control of the Crown officers' salaries.

Although for thirty-six years New Jersey was governed by the men really selected for New York, and under much the same instructions, events are

not pointed off by their terms as in the larger province. Indeed, the story of the colony is mostly a shapeless muddle of making laws only to unmake them, of land-quarrels, sectarian bitterness, and hatred for all authority. As if Fate served the restless people in the measure of their folly, the first Governor, for whom they turned out Andrew Hamilton, was her Majesty's burdensome cousin, Lord Cornbury. For six years he left everything to his tool, Lieutenant-Governor Richard Ingoldsby, except business in which he had his own axe to grind. Dickering with the Royal African Company, he saw that this province, as well as the big one, had "a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities." In spite of all the Friends could do, the household service and farm-work of most well-to-do families in the towns were put into the hands of "blacks." Cornbury furthered much-needed public works, through Assemblies packed with men who voted money to lodge something in every hand through which it passed; while anyone who objected was put down. He who travels over the lines of the old highways and "turnpikes" to-day may amuse himself by studying the routes determined by personal motives. The road-makers

"pulled down their enemies' enclosures and laid waies through their orchards, gardens and improvements; there was one gentleman at whom they had an extraordinary pique, and they laid a way over a mill pond, to necessitate him to pull down dam and mills that could not be erected for 1000 pounds, or to pull it down themselves,

though the gentleman offered to build a bridge over the stream at his own charge, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile distant, w^{ch} would have been $\frac{1}{4}$ nearer and better way."

Lord Cornbury's zeal to establish the Church of England stirred Quakers, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists to make common cause against any act of Assembly designed to compel the province to support any Church whatever, and succeeded.

As for expenses, it soon became clear that the proprietors' demands had been a mere trifle compared to those of the royal government, while her Majesty upheld the landlord's claims for their rent at a penny the acre to the uttermost farthing.

"The whole province was filled with murmurs and complaints; but neither that nor y^e hearty curses they liberally bestow^d upon the villains that were y^e authors of their sufferings, avail^d anything; they were forced to get money, some by taking it up at 10, 20, 30 & more p^r Cent interest, those whose credit would not go, even on y^e most desperate terms, were forced to sell w^t they had was vendable, to raise the money and very many there was y^t sold good milch cows to raise six shillings."

The people let their commerce dwindle to nothing; their ports became pirates' nests; while land breezes and church tempests sometimes were varied by a negro plot or a hanging. But the Assembly at length rebuked the Governor for his countless outrages, and notified the Queen that the colonists could submit to them no longer. The well-paid Council promptly forwarded their unqualified approval of his actions, and

“dislike and abhorrence of the Burgesses’ proceedings.” But the whitewash was too thick. Her Gracious Majesty listened to Lewis Morris, whom the burgesses sent to present their accusations with detailed proof; and New York’s supplications being added, the hated Cornbury was displaced in 1708 by Lord Lovelace, who lived but six months, and had little to do with New Jersey.

Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby was in charge when anxieties lest the French and Indian War should reach them induced the Assembly to make their first issue of paper-money, in 1609, and equip forces to help the other colonies. The next year this was kept up, and other changes for the better were instituted by Governor Robert Hunter, which outlasted his nine years’ term. He ousted Cornbury’s ruffians, giving their places to such men as Lewis Morris, John Hamilton, and other sons of the best of the old stock. He paid the people a pleasant compliment by building an official residence on a sightly spot in Perth Amboy, whither he often escaped for a brief rest from the cares of the larger province. He also bought land near Burlington, and, later, in New Brunswick, where he planted a settlement. While helping in this manner and by his influence with the home government, he faced the Assembly with the causes of the rotten condition of their affairs, and induced them to carry on improvements with less spite and more honest labour than before. Nothing was ever more unfortunate for them than the change in 1720, which brought William Burnet for eight years to enforce the new

policy of George I., when scarcity of money and depression in paper currency were adding to the old ills.

During all this time the proprietors and the men holding title from them had had infinite difficulties. Many efforts were made to have William III.'s decision favouring Nicolls's grants set aside. To con-



WILLIAM BURNET, GOVERNOR FROM 1720-28.

Redrawn from Whitehead's *History of Perth Amboy*.

test their validity the "Inhabitants and Freeholders of Elizabeth Town" formed a "permanent committee of assistance," whose first act, apparently, in 1720, was to lose, steal, or destroy the Elizabeth Town Book, the only complete record of Governor Carteret's agreements with the "After Cull Colonie" and other early events. Although obliged to

sell several thousand of their jealously prized acres to meet the expenses, this committee henceforth stuck at nothing to resist rents and every sort of proprietary claim, at the worst dragging suits through the courts for years until they dropped dead of their own weight. Burnet left ; the mild three years' term of Montgomerie passed by ; then the brutal Cosby's four years. Then King George II. at last answered the request for a separate governor with New Jersey's own good and able Lewis Morris. But when this long trusted associate tried to carry out the royal instructions, the people made his life a burden, till after eight years he died. He who had spent the flower of his days in devotion to their welfare sadly admitted that the inclination of the people to control the government, common to all the provinces, " was nowhere pursued with more steadiness and less decency than in New Jersey."

Yet the instructions from England had been " to keep matters smooth "—not even to press for " fitting support " for the royal officers. The Free Borough and Town of Elizabeth was chartered in about 1740, with all the privileges of a free English corporation under mayor, aldermen, and common council, and the boundaries were settled after seventy years of quarrels.

The year 1740 was the period of the Great Revival that possessed the province with religious fervour, to the exclusion of hatred and malice while it lasted. But before long camp-meetings gave way to secret caucuses over the old title quarrels, in which the Elizabeth Town Associates determined to use their

new powers. Secret communications were sent hither and thither to inflame all settlers within the grant. Each side posted agents to intercept the messengers, and whichever succeeded, violence usually followed. The old record says:

“The infection of insubordination spread daily; violence was done; arrests made and imprisonment; jails broken and prisoners released; indictments found for nothing, and more riots against the indictments; the government too weak to stop it.”

In 1745, the famous Elizabeth Town Bill was filed in the Court of Chancery, written by Joseph Murray and James Alexander, both eminent New York lawyers—so complete a defence of the proprietors' claims from the beginning, with maps and references, and, as a prejudiced writer grudgingly admits, “so plausible . . . that nearly all the historians of the State have relied almost implicitly on its statements.” The answer was a mere denial, drawn up by the “incendiary lawyers” and “Sons of Liberty,” William Livingston and William Smith, also of New York. The suit dragged such a weary length through the courts that the principal lawyers died before the matter came to a hearing.

A pleasant break in the monotony was the founding of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, in 1746, to educate young men for the ministry—insuring equal liberties to every Christian sect. Then came Jonathan Belcher for the remaining nine years of his life, a term of “fatherly kindness and masterly management”—a reputation



NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON, N. J.

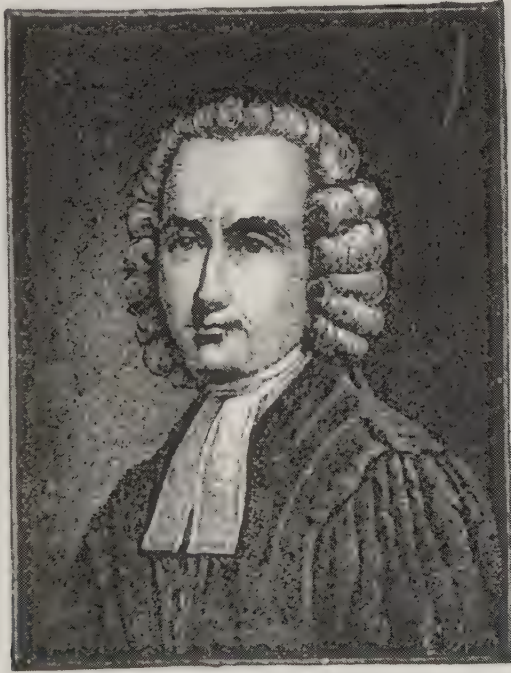
denied him as Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The New Jersey people, impressed as much perhaps by his Excellency's high temper as by his deep piety, begged his "favour and kind protection" to make "trade flourish amongst us." The records, which only here begin to be full, show that many improvements were set on foot, for which money was often raised by lotteries. In one year eight lotteries, under the charge of leading men of the province, were advertised in New York and Philadelphia papers. The Assembly afterwards passed severe laws against these and all forms of gambling; but for many years money for public benefit could be raised in no other way, and the law was evaded by drawing the tickets in another province.

Only at this time, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the province was nearly a hundred years old, did it seem to be on the way to dignity and prosperity. The large towns still vied with each other for the honour of being chosen for the frequently shifted capital and governor's residence; the high-minded leaders who had come to the fore in Hunter's day still had to combat selfishness in perhaps the majority of the representatives. This conflict grew more serious as George II.'s French and Indian War neared the colony. The hard-fisted back-country farmers were not moved to decent action by gratitude for the fact that they had been spared through half a century of these hostilities; and what little they voted, when obliged to do so, they often hampered by conditions until it was

almost useless. When his Majesty's soldiers were quartered here, as in New York, they were billeted upon the people of the principal towns, an attempt at economy which was "found by Experience not only attended with a heavy publick Expence, but many other pernicious Consequences to private Families"—a statement putting many sad stories in a nutshell. So, as a choice of evils, the Assembly built substantial barracks for three hundred men at Burlington, Trenton, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, and Elizabeth Town. The province was not free from these guests of "pernicious Consequences" for the next twenty years. Indians began to harass the frontier after Braddock's defeat; but Francis Bernard made his two years' term memorable by his general council of sachems at Easton, Pennsylvania, when he quieted the claims of the tribes marauding on the borders and turned their hostility into good will which saved the colonists untold distress. Bernard was a royal officer who, forgetting his salary in solicitude for defences, could raise money, enlist regiments, and even assert the royal prerogative without exciting the resentment of the representatives. There was harmony while he ruled, and regret when he left in 1760, to go to Massachusetts. Thomas Boone followed him in a brief change from South Carolina, and Josiah Hardy next crossed the scene; four governors passing in the scant eight years of the war, which was beyond the borders of the province, and to which the colonists contributed no more than their share.

In 1763, the year that peace was signed at Paris,

began the admirable thirteen years' administration of William Franklin, the end of which was the end of the province. Young Franklin's appointment was one of the most important ever made in the

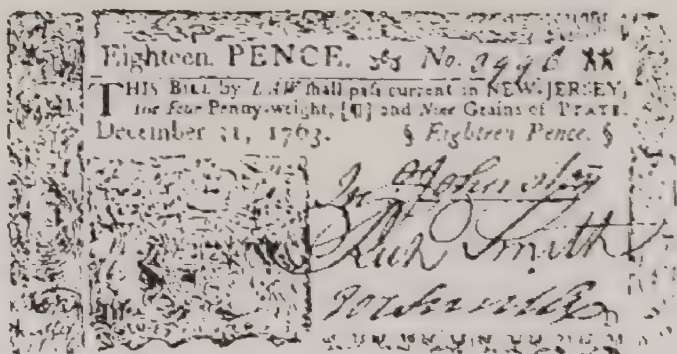


JONATHAN DICKINSON.

First President of the College of New Jersey.

colonies, not only because he was even then, at thirty years of age, an American of marked character and ability, honoured by a degree from Oxford University and other distinctions in England and in his native province of Pennsylvania, but because the

office sought him on a wonderful approach to the merit system, though he was the grandson of a Massachusetts printer whom the Crown had punished for patriotism, and the only living son and constant companion of Benjamin Franklin, who that year had left London on account of the passage of the Stamp Act. Young Franklin and his bride had much to overcome in the prejudice against his



illegitimate birth; but he soon drew into his Council and other offices as well as into his private friendship the best people of the country. In a short time he worked wonders for the benefit of all classes. But with all his devotion to the province and his patriot blood, he held to the King's side on the Stamp Act question and the others in its train, becoming the leader of the Tory party here and afterwards in New York. Many of the best families were with him. The colony never was a high-minded, united, or self-governing body, with all its insubordination; and having little foreign commerce or



47 "LIBERTY HALL," GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON'S RESIDENCE, IN 1776. ELIZABETH TOWN, N. J.

inland traffic, the young men of good family went into government service here or in the mother-country. Many were educated and married in England, while their sisters had found husbands in the royal regiments stationed in the province. Mr. Whitehead says: "Probably not one of the colonies in proportion to its population and extent suffered more" than New Jersey from the separation of families and friends in the drawing of "patriot" and "Tory" lines.

The patriots were strong enough in the Assembly to send delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, and showed as marked resistance as any province, while mobs burned effigies, erected gallows, and threatened anyone who should attempt to use stamps.

The non-importation agreements were signed, and renewed when it was said that some of the New York merchants were weakening; and later, sympathy and aid were sent to Boston when the port was closed. Organised resistance was begun by a convention of delegates in the court-house at Newark in June, 1774; but as most of the committee appointed to carry out the measures resolved upon were Elizabeth Town men, the old capital became the headquarters of the patriot movement in New Jersey, while the Tories centred about the Governor at Perth Amboy. A standing Committee of Correspondence was appointed and several county committees, while delegates were sent to the Continental Congress, but instructed to oppose any plan for independence. The blood shed at Lexington, however, put matters in another light.

While Governor Franklin ably took the King's side in a course of actions which never were tainted with personal interest or double-dealing, his father visited him to plead the country's cause and his own affectionate wishes; but only to leave broken-hearted.

Nothing could have been more upright than the assurances which passed between the Governor and the people. The Convention, asking and receiving his parole, agreed to his living as the Governor in his house at Amboy, among all the excitement and increasing difficulties, until the spring of 1775, when, in obedience to orders from England, he called for an Assembly. As that was contrary to the decree of the Continental Congress, the Convention was obliged to arrest him, declaring him no longer the Governor, but "an enemy to the country," and sending him under guard to Connecticut.

The delegates to the Second Congress were instructed

"in case they think it necessary and expedient for supporting the just rights of America to join in declaring the United Colonies independent and entering into a Confederation for union and defense."

They voted accordingly, and signed the Declaration. Two days earlier, July 2, 1776, the constitution of the State of New Jersey was adopted.



CHAPTER III

DELAWARE, SIXTH COLONY—THE SMALL DOMAIN COVETED BY THREE NATIONS

THE FIRST DUTCH FOOTHOLD

VENTURESOME subjects of the States-General were the first to make a settlement on the west shore of what they called the South Bay, thus giving the resulting colony some title to the sixth place. At least it naturally comes next to the others planted by them, for, although the Swedes obtained possession of it for about sixteen years, the Dutch held sway for half a century over this most coveted piece of coast—which, after almost another century of disputed English control, became the royal province of Delaware.

Hudson called the attention of the Amsterdam merchants to this bay after his voyage of 1609; and probably some of the first who followed up his discoveries named Cape Henlopen. Englishmen have asserted that these waters were discovered in 1610 by Lord de la Warre. Others, however, deny that this godfather of the First Colony ever saw them, and say that they were named in his honour be-

cause, eight years later, he died in this region while on his second voyage to Virginia. The story of New Jersey tells the New Netherlanders' tradition of the scouts who ventured in 1614 to the place where the river broadens out into the bay, and of the thorough exploration of both made by Hendricksen, sent from Manhattan to redeem them from the Indians. Some of the Dutchmen's early names for the bay were Arasalpha, Nassau, Prince Hendrick, Charles, New Port Mey, and Godyn — the last of them given at the time of the purchase of the first land on the western shore, made in 1629; and that was six years after Captain Mey built Fort Nassau, on what is now the New Jersey shore of the river at the head of the bay. For the first of the famous New Netherland patrooneries, the agents of Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, two of the Dutch West India Company's directors, bought over thirty miles above Cape Henlopen, erecting it and probably a later purchase on the opposite shore into the patroonery of Zwanendael, the Valley of Swans. Among the directors with whom these greedy speculators were obliged to share this choice land was the celebrated traveller and coloniser, Captain de Vries. In his service, Peter Heyes brought out an exceedingly well-equipped colony of thirty-four persons during the spring of 1630, and settled them under command of Gillis Hossett, in and about a fort, which was called Oplandt. This was near what is now the town of Lewes. It was placed just within Cape Henlopen to be convenient for whale fisheries, and not far from what was supposed to be a

comfortable harbour at the mouth of the Hoornkill, a stream probably named from Hoorn in North Holland, where De Vries lived, though other spellings and reasons have been given. With cattle, tools, grain and seeds for farming, an outfit for whaling, a yacht and supplies for the Indians' peltry trade, this colony started under remarkably good auspices. But Fort Oplandt was a rude shelter defended by a log palisade, probably intended only for use until a better one could be built, for the Dutch usually raised parapets and breastworks, employing skilled engineers. The next year, when De Vries arrived with more colonists and materials for many improvements, Oplandt was a blackened ruin, strewn with the bleaching bones of the people to whom he had brought companions and supplies. The Indians told him how Peter Heyes had nailed up a pretty piece of tin on a tree, which De Vries knew must have been the national escutcheon; and then they told him with much detail that their chief thought it a choice bit of material for pipes; and having had many pretty presents of tin cups and platters from the "Sanhikans," as these people called the Dutchmen, he helped himself to this and made it into most beautiful pipes. Gillis Hossett was so hot with indignation over this desecration of the arms of his country, the Indians told De Vries, that several leading men of the tribe put their offending chief to death and carried the news to the fort that the white man might forget his anger against them. Poor Hossett then let his feelings run too far the other way, showing that he considered the

punishment beyond the crime. The savages, seeing that their sacrifice was not acceptable, went away in bitterness and planned another visit to be made with a show of friendship, until a signal was given to fall upon the whole colony. The scheme had not failed. De Vries could see the ruins for himself. He must have blamed Hossett, for he said afterwards, "We lost our settlement in the Hoorn Creek by mere jangling with the Indians." But it seems that the whale fisheries established there were not abandoned; and this may be considered as the first white men's foothold in what is now Delaware.

The next claim on this attractive land was asserted by Charles I. of England, in the grant of Maryland which he made to Lord Baltimore in the spring of 1632, and which did nothing more than send a thrill of protest through the colonies of other nations, keeping alive England's pretensions in virtue of Cabot's discoveries.

NEW SWEDELAND

While English and Dutch contended for this territory, the Swedes took possession and held supremacy for sixteen years. Even before 1630, the Swedes have declared, certain men of authority in Holland agreed to Gustavus Adolphus's colonisation of this western shore. This has been denied, but not disproved. The Lion of the North and champion of oppressed Protestants was then at the height of his power. The great Antwerp merchant, William Usselinx, who had founded the Dutch West India

Company, had presented himself in Sweden, after his quarrel with them, and either inspired or aided the King in forming a Swedish company for trade and colonisation on this rich South Bay. The enterprise was well under way when it was interrupted by the German war, in the midst of which, at Nuremberg, Gustavus had invited the people of Germany to partake of the benefits of this "jewel of his kingdom," a colony to which all Europe should be invited to contribute, a refuge for "all oppressed Christendom." It was not to be a slave market. "Slaves cost a great deal, labour with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children."

Gustavus fell in the battle of Lützen, a few weeks later, in November, 1632, when, as Bancroft says, "humanity won one of its most glorious victories and lost one of its ablest defenders." But during the minority of his six-year-old daughter Christina, the King's projects were in the able hands of Axel, Count of Oxenstjerna, his own tried minister, "one of the greatest men of all time, the serene chancellor." As "executor of the wish of Gustavus," he confirmed a patent of the "New South Company," united with the "Ship Company," and renewed the invitation to Germany, prophesying truly, "the consequences will be favourable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." Peter Minuit, the admirable first Director of New Netherland, who had been recalled, apparently on false charges, in

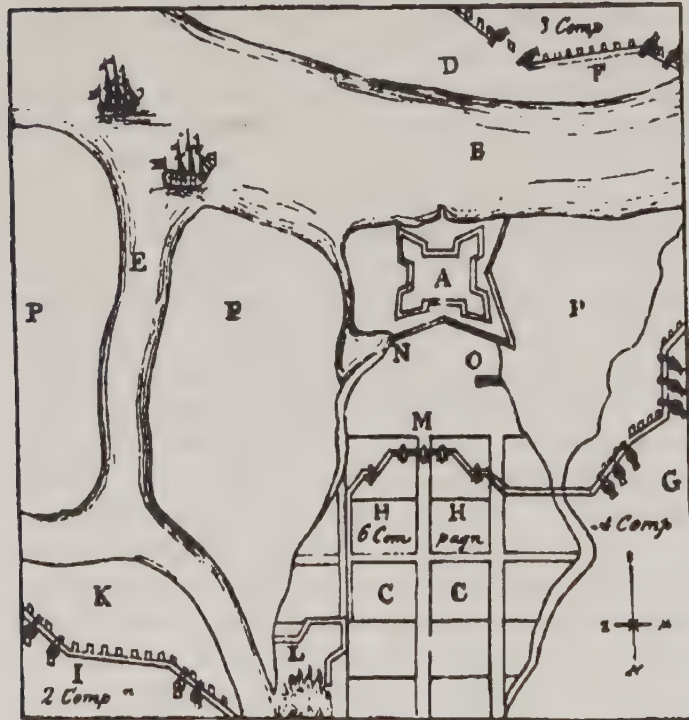
the year of Gustavus Adolphus's death, turned from Holland to Sweden, as Usselincx had done before him. Oxenstjerna, looking for a man to lead out the first body of colonists, gladly availed himself of the abilities which certain of the Dutch patroons had dreaded in opposition to their own interests. Important matters were before long under his direction and that of Samuel Blommaert, Swedish commissary (or consul-general) at Amsterdam, and one of the original patroons who had never made good his holdings. They helped to form a Swedish-Dutch company to trade and colonise in portions of the North American coast not previously occupied by the Dutch or English. When all the arrangements were completed, Minuit took command of an emigration of "mixed people." He held his trust for the initial years of the first colony in New Sweden, until death removed him. He was not a "renegade Dutchman," as he is called by historians who ought to know better, but a German born in Wesel, who accepted employment by the Swedes after the Dutch Company had discharged him. He knew that the Dutch claims in North America were not admitted by England, and that every nation's foothold was contested by others. No heroic character of his age would have held back simply because Sweden had no shadow of title in the South Bay. Additional incentives were found in the greatness of the Swedish name in arms, in the weakness of the Dutch Company's Director and garrisons, and more than all, perhaps, in the fact of its being bound by charter to wait for

permission from the States-General before firing on the subjects of any nation with which they were not at war. So he sailed with well-grounded confidence in the winter of 1637, with the gunboat *Kalmar Nyckel* (*Key of Kalmar*) and the sloop *Gripen* (*Griffin*), carrying a well-fitted company of about fifty industrious men and women. They had a devoted Lutheran clergyman, Riorus Torkillus, to look after their souls, and a skilful engineer to provide for their temporal security. He took them far up the bay, and into the stream which the Dutch called Minquas' Kill from the tribe of natives upon it, while the Swedes renamed it the Elbe, and later the Christina (long afterwards corrupted into Christiana), in honour of their girl-queen.

About two miles up this serpentine stream, on the west bank, they found a great bluff, with a natural wharf of stone, almost cut off from the surrounding country by a marsh. It was called Hopahaccan by the Indians. The Dutchmen at Fort Nassau at once protested against their landing, and Minuit gained time by pretending to be on his way to the West Indies and stopping only for wood and water—which he had already laid in, telling the same story, at Jamestown, Virginia. When he was cornered into admitting that he had come to plant a Swedish colony, his cannon had been landed, scientific stone fortifications begun, and other foundations laid for Fort Christina and behind it for the farming village of Christinaham.

Unfortunately, New Swedeland had no chronicler of its own at first, although after some years histories

and descriptions were written by Israel Acrelius, provost of the colony, settled over the church at Christina; by Peter Lindstroem, a military engineer who wrote valuable letters besides a journal illus-



PLAN OF FORT CHRISTINA, 1655.

trated with diagrams ; and by Thomas Campanius Holm, whose *Short Description* is a fascinating book, full of all sorts of statements ranging from facts of public record to the wildest of fancies. A much later English historian of the Delaware says:

"A more favourable spot can hardly be imagined. High and dry, safe and commodious as a place of deposit, no delay and little labour was necessary to land their stores. Immediately to that little area, about one hundred yards square, near the point of rocks, came the native Minquas, paddling their canoes down the Creek, or overland, single file, with their packs of beaver and otter and deer-skins and their tobacco and maize and venison; all of which they gladly exchanged for the cloths, the blankets, tools, and trinkets of European production."

The colonists held their public worship in the fort and were led for about four years by the good Torkillus, who, besides labouring for his countrymen, also served his flock by his kindness to the natives.

"The Indians sometimes attended the religious assemblies of the Swedes, but expressed their amazement that one man should detain his tribe with such lengthened harangues without offering to entertain them with brandy. . . . On . . . one occasion the young and violent were roused with anger against the new people " because " the pastor spoke so long alone that the redmen decided that he was exhorting his audience to hostility against themselves."

Minuit made treaties with practically the whole race on bay and river. He knew probably that the Dutch West India Company had lately bought Zwanendael from the patroons for the handsome price of 15,600 guilders, over \$6200 when money was worth at least five times what it is now. Yet

for a kettle and similar valuables he induced the natives to sell to the Swedes a tract which Mr. Fisher says careful investigation shows to have been only between Bombay Hook and the Schuylkill, though early writers said it was the entire shore with "as much inwards as they might want."

Minuit soon received a wordy remonstrance from Director Kieft of New Netherland, who protested that the South Bay and River had been long occupied by the Dutch forts and "sealed by our blood . . . during thy Directorship of the New Netherland and is therefore well known to thee." He appealed to his superiors in Holland, who gave him no authority to interfere, although Minuit's peltry trade amounted to "thirty thousand florins injury" to the Dutch. It is said that the Dutch "sought to keep them from going any farther by buying up the country of the Indians as well as keeping on good terms with them. This was the Swedes' policy also." But it is not exactly true that "the result was the remarkable fact that during the Swedish dynasty not a drop of Indian blood was shed on the Delaware by either party."

In the brief mild winter of 1639-40, the people grew so disappointed because provisions and more colonists did not arrive from home that many began to think of going to the Dutch colony on the North River if they could not return to the dear and distant native land. But the early spring dispelled their gloom; and they assured the newcomers, who arrived from Sweden and Finland, that they had come to an earthly Paradise.

Mr. Keen * says:

"A second expedition had already been projected which Queen Christina and the Swedish partners in the South Company determined to render more national in character than that conducted by Minuit. Natives of Sweden were particularly invited to engage in it; and none volunteering to do so, the governors of Elfsborg and Värmland were directed to procure married soldiers who had evaded service or committed some other capital offense [there were many in those days], who with their wives and children were promised the liberty of returning home at pleasure at the end of one or two years." With them sailed "the second governor of New Sweden, Lieutenant Peter Hollender . . . who was probably, as his name indicates, a Dutchman, and (since he signed himself 'Ridder') doubtless a nobleman."

They arrived in April, 1640. In that year, as the public records of Stockholm show, passports were given by the Swedish government to certain sea-captains for three separate voyages on which they took colonists, cattle, and other things necessary for the cultivation of the country. It is also shown that several men of substance received charters or grants to plant settlements, and that command of the plantations was given to military men. While several parties came during that autumn and winter, more than a hundred people ready to sail were left behind waiting for ships to carry them. Over one of the most important grants of this time the ministers of the little Christina — if they had any sense

* *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Edited by Winsor.

of humour — must have chuckled among themselves at the expense of Van Twiller if not of his superiors, for it was a sovereign concession to a certain company of Dutchmen, giving them leave in consideration of "three florins of the empire for each person" to settle their colony under an officer paid by Sweden, Joost de Bogaerdt, some fifteen miles or so south of Fort Christina. The Dutch colony promptly took possession, building homes, planting fields, and enjoying this happy land much as the Swedes did, while their countrymen at Manhattan were suffering under Kieft's wretched government and the Indian wars which he provoked.

The Swedes were crippled in that summer of 1641 by the loss of Minuit, who died in Fort Christina, much regretted. All that can be gleaned concerning him seems to show that this first Governor of the two "foreign" plantations of the Thirteen Colonies was an able and judicious man, always well spoken of except by interested persons who had failed to buy off his shrewd devotion to his employers. His body was laid in the churchyard at Christina.

Lieutenant Peter Hollaendaer, who took Minuit's place for a year and a half, united his force with that of the Dutch at Nassau under Commissary Jan Jansen and broke up two Newhaven settlements at points now in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He and his successors repeatedly drove the Englishmen out of river and bay with such determination that they did not effect a settlement until after about fifteen years, when the ghost of the great Gustavus

had ceased to clank in warlike armour throughout the civilised world, protecting his colony and their valuable peltry trade.

Meantime, in Sweden, says Mr. Keen,

"the Governor of Gottenburg was enjoined to persuade families of his province to emigrate 'with their horses and cattle and other personal property'; and the Governor of Värmland and Dal was directed to enlist certain Finns who had been forced to enter the army as a punishment for violating a royal edict against clearing land in that province by burning forests; and the Governor of Örebro was instructed to induce people of the same race roaming about the mining districts under his jurisdiction to accompany the rest to the Transatlantic Colony. At about the same time, the Government resolved to buy out the Dutch partners in their enterprise, which apparently was done for 18,000 gulden from the public funds of Sweden. Thus their third expedition was under the auspices of a purely Swedish company. The interest in the little American company was now at its height, and resulted in the formation of a new company, styled the West India, American, or New Sweden Company, although oftener known as the South Company. It had a capital of 36,000 riksdaler, besides a monopoly of the tobacco trade in Sweden, Finland, and Ingermanland."

Hollaendaer returned to Sweden, and became commander of the Arsenal at Stockholm, while even a more vigorous soldier took his place in America. For about eight years following the spring of 1643, New Swedeland was under Governor John Printz.

He was noted in the diary of the humour-loving Dutch Captain de Vries as a man "of brave size," weighing somewhat more than four hundred pounds, who, De Vries "doubted not," took three drinks at every meal. The custom in New Swedeland required four meals a day. As a distinguished army officer, who had been ennobled, a man of recognised education and ability, he was sent out in state with two men-of-war and a merchantman, with many new settlers and lengthy instructions to promote and increase the colony and govern it according to "the laws, customs, and usages of Sweden," inflicting punishments only under "ordinances and legal forms" or advice from the "most prudent assessors of justice" among the inhabitants. He was also to see that the colony should "render to Almighty God the true worship which is His due, according to the Confession of Augsburg, the Council of Upsal, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church," maintaining "a good ecclesiastical discipline," and looking after the religious instruction of the young and of the Indians. The natives he must treat with "great kindness and humanity," buying their land, making treaties, allowing no violence or injustice toward them. He was to secure all their trade to agents of the Swedish Company, underbidding the Dutch. Among the colonists, Printz was to foster all the industries known to America and introduce as many from Europe as possible, and to give particular attention to the cultivation of tobacco; for this industry some convicts were imported, and successful crops were raised at

once, and cargoes sent home. He was also to find out if silk and wine could be produced, to try to make salt from sea water, explore the mineralogy of the country, and to ship oak as ballast in returning vessels, together with some walnuts from which it was hoped to produce valuable oil. But whatever else he did or did not do, the new Governor was to maintain the sovereignty of his august Queen. The religion and the charter privileges of the Dutch colony settled below Christina Creek were to be scrupulously respected; but other Dutch as well as English were not to be allowed to exercise "their pretended rights" on the waters or land of New Swedeland. The Swedish government annually devoted the large sum of about two million rix-dollars to the support and development of the colony. They sent more colonists and more soldiers, so that the stalwart Printz was able to guard this national investment with a military force that far outnumbered all the Dutch in the region. In less than eight months after his arrival he built two massive log forts, both of them at points from which the English had been driven by Hollaendaer and the Dutch. One — Nya Elfsborg — was near the mouth of the Bay, at Varcken's Kill or Salem Creek, in what is now New Jersey. For his other fort, at his own residence of Printzhof, the shrewd soldier seized the most valuable site on bay or river, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, where it defied the Dutch Fort Beversrede. The second Swedish plantation within what is now Pennsylvania was named Nya Göteborg, after the old town with its impreg-

nable fortress reared by the great Gustavus. Meantime the town of Christina was kept up, the defences increased, and "a magazine of all sorts of goods" provided — for it was still "the principal place of trade, in which the commissary holds his residence."

Mr. Gay * tells us that

"among all the early colonial governors none held more undisputed sway than was exercised by Printz . . . from the muddy banks at the mouth of the Schuylkill to the low capes of Henlopen and May, where the vexed and shifting sands contend in endless strife with the winds and waves of the Atlantic. It was all New Sweden for a hundred miles on both banks of the noble river — a rich and lovely country, its broad round hills covered with forests of great trees, the growth of many centuries, sweeping down with gentle undulations to the meadows through which the quiet streams of many creeks wound gracefully in tortuous channels on their way to the wide waters of the Bay."

There seems to be no doubt that Printz's forts compelled every passing vessel of another nation not only to pay her respects to Sweden by striking her flag, but also a more substantial tribute if she wanted to trade within the Bay. Thrilling tales were told of his guardianship of the trading centre now occupied by Philadelphia. Yet, as Mr. Fisher † says:

"It is matter of some surprise how these little wooden forts or block-houses were able to control the navigation

* *History of the United States.*

† *The Making of Pennsylvania.*

of the river. The waters were wide both in river and bay, and the forts were usually at the widest places, and in some instances with the main channel on the opposite side. Any one naturally concludes that a ship which kept close to the further shore and paid no attention to the fort would have been perfectly safe. But the cannon that were used may have been of better range and accuracy than has been generally supposed, or the moral effect of a shot or two and the consciousness that pursuit in open boats was possible may have been enough to bring a prudent captain to anchor."

Mr. Keen describes the manner of his driving out George Lamberton and other New England traders, and then says:

"Not less successful was the opposition of the Governor to an attempt to invade his territory by the English knight, Sir Edmund Plowden, who had recently come to America to take possession, in virtue of a grant from Charles I. of England, of a large tract of land, in which New Sweden was included. For though certain of the retainers of this so-styled 'Earl Palatine of New Albion,' who had mutinied and left their lord to perish on an island, were apprehended at Fort Elfsborg in May, 1643, and courteously surrendered to him by Printz, the latter refused to permit any vessel trading under his commission to pass up the Delaware, and so 'affronted' Plowden that he finally abandoned the river."

On the other hand, it is said that, by kindness and similar virtues as much as by their enterprise, the Swedes completely monopolised the native trade. They set up stations far into the Minquas'

country, collecting furs at lower prices than were asked by the natives after they had transported their "pelts" to the South River. The Indians called the Swedes their own people.

Still, says Mr. Keen,

"in the spring of 1644, influenced, it is presumed, by the example of their brethren in Virginia and Maryland and the vicinity of Manhattan, who had recently been provoked to fierce hostility against the Dutch and English, some of the savages massacred two soldiers and a labourer between Christina and Elfsborg, and a Swedish woman and her husband between Tinicum and Upland. Printz, however, immediately assembling his people at Christina to defend themselves against all further outrages, the natives 'came together,' he says, 'from all sides, heartily apologising for and denying all complicity in the murderous deeds, and suing earnestly for peace.' This was accorded them by the Governor, but 'with the menace of annihilation if the settlers were ever again molested.' Whereupon a treaty was signed by the sachems, and ratified by the customary interchange of presents, assuring tranquillity for the future and restoring something of the previous mutual confidence."

Notwithstanding all misfortunes, the colony prospered. An excellent class of settlers and soldiers, including many newcomers, controlled it as freemen — free to leave if they wished to. Good farmers and workmen were made out of the small number of convicts who had come as workmen after the first settlement was made. Their productive farms adorned the banks of the river. Their sturdy cattle grazed on the meadows and multiplied in the forests.

" The woodland at that time grew a short nutritious grass; our troublesome underbrush did not begin until the Englishman's axe and firebrands destroyed the primeval woodland and its pasturage. The Swedes 'took the country as they found it,' diked the open land along the river, cut the grass, ploughed, and sowed, planted peaches and fruit trees of all kinds, had flourishing gardens; 'but they were never numerous enough to need more land and never attempted to clear away the forests.' They seem to have been 'surrounded by an abundance of game and fish and the products of thrifty agriculture, of which we can now scarcely conceive . . . meadows' were 'covered with huge flocks of white cranes which rose in clouds when a boat approached the shore. The finest varieties of fish could be almost taken with the hand. Ducks and wild geese covered the water, and outrageous stories were told of the number that could be killed at a single shot. The wild swans, now driven far to the south and soon likely to become extinct, were abundant, floating on the water like drifted snow. On shore the Indians brought in fat bucks every day, which they sold for a few pipes of tobacco or a measure or two of powder. Turkeys, grouse, and varieties of song-birds which will never be seen again were in the woods and fields. Wild pigeon often filled the air like bees.' "

The people also made the most of nature's generosity in the products of the soil, showing much ingenuity in manufacturing " wine, beer, or brandy out of sassafras, persimmons, corn, and apparently anything that could be made to ferment." But their height of prosperity was not destined to continue. It was not long before New Netherland had

an able Director in Peter Stuyvesant, who gradually increased the garrison at Nassau, and then he purchased from the natives almost the entire tract that they had sold eighteen years before to Minuit—from Christina or Minquas' Creek to Bomphtjes Hoeck. On what was known as Sandhuken, a beautiful headland standing out boldly into the Bay, Stuyvesant built Fort Casimir, the beginning of what is now New Castle. Printz sent a protest that the fort was on the territory of New Swedeland, but Stuyvesant had the larger forces, and Printz was obliged to abandon Elfsborg, and to accept the second place on the South Bay. Both the redoubtable commanders appreciated that if they fell out the English might come in, so they agreed by letter to "keep neighbourly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies," though they never met. Printz notified his superiors of the change in his situation, and asked them to allow him to return, or to send someone in his place. He did not know that the prestige of Sweden had begun to fall under the eccentricities of Queen Christina. He left the command to his son-in-law, Johan Pappégoja, and set sail for home. Perhaps he would have turned back if he had known that on the high seas he was passing a man-of-war sent to reinforce him with about three hundred colonists. But had he remained at his post he might have been angry enough to burst a blood-vessel, for Johan Rysingh, the commander of the reinforcement, made no attempt to report to the Governor, whom he was to displace only if Printz wished to retire, and ignoring

all his pacific instructions, took a hostile attitude before Fort Casimir, about May 25, 1654. The Dutch commandant, Gerrit Bikker, reported to Stuyvesant, "We perceived a sail, not knowing who she was or where from," and sending Adriaen Van Tienhoven aboard, learned the astonishing news that the new Swedish Governor had arrived and demanded the surrender of the fort. While the officers were wondering what they should do, having no powder, Rysingh sent the captain of the ship into the fort with twenty or thirty men, their swords drawn. Poor Bikker said that he "welcomed them as friends," and asked a parley; but his "soldiers were immediately chased out of the fort and their goods taken in possession, as likewise my property, and I could hardly by entreaties bring it so far to bear that I, with my wife and children, were not likewise shut out almost naked."

Van Tienhoven meantime returned to the man-of-war, demanding to know Rysingh's authority, and was answered that it rested upon the orders of Queen Christina. Her Majesty's ambassadors at The Hague had been told by the States-General and the directors of the Dutch West India Company that they had not authorised the creation of the fort on Swedish territory. "If our people are in your Excellency's way," the complaisant Dutchmen were represented as saying, "drive them off." Rysingh slapped Van Tienhoven on the breast, saying, "Go, tell your governor that!"

The rash Swede knew little of "Headstrong Piet" Stuyvesant. He promptly wrote to Holland

to obtain formal contradiction of the lie, and prepared for revenge, while Rysingh was blithely forcing the oath of allegiance to Sweden or immediate exile upon all who came in his way, and with much ado taking possession of the fort. The skilful engineer Peter Lindstroem was directed to repair it, and it was named *Trefaldigheet*, Trinity Fort, because its conquest had occurred in the season devoted to the commemoration of that mystery.

Meantime, some colour was given to Rysingh's assertions by the arrival of a new colony to settle a grant which Queen Christina had made the year before to a Finnish captain. This land extended from Maarte Hoeck or Marcus Hook to Upland Creek,—now the boundary between Delaware and Pennsylvania,—and there the community of New Finland was settled. As Director-General of New Swedeland, Rysingh enjoyed authority for little more than the year 1654, in which Queen Christina closed her erratic reign by abdicating in favour of her cousin, Charles Gustavus.

Stuyvesant soon received letters from the Company's directors in Holland, denouncing poor Bicker's "infamous" surrender, and ordering Stuyvesant "to exert every nerve to revenge that injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river, as they did with us." In the slow movement of large bodies at that time, it was not till about the middle of September in the next year, 1655, that even the enterprising "Old Silver-leg" could surprise Trinity Fort with a man-of-war, six small

vessels, and some six or seven hundred New Netherland volunteers. He thus cut off aid from Christina, while he marched the Swedes out with all the honours of war, his own men entering the fort with flying colours. His chaplain, Dominie Megapolensis of the New Amsterdam church, preached a sermon, Stuyvesant wrote to the City Fathers, "with our imperfect thanksgiving, as God's hand and blessing was remarkably visible with us, as well in the weather and prosperous success as in the discouragement of our enemies."

Twenty Swedes, two thirds of the whole garrison, took the oath of allegiance to "the high and mighty lords and patrons of this New Netherland province," which Stuyvesant offered with the privilege of remaining as freemen on South River. Then he turned his attention to Christina. Although Rysingh had but thirty soldiers, eight having been taken by the Dutch on their way to aid the other garrison, Stuyvesant set five batteries about the fort. Rysingh saw the flag of the States-General all about him, floating even from his own shallop in the river. Yet for twelve days he withstood the siege, while the enemy wasted the country, abused the Swedish women, and robbed dwellings and barns as far as Nya Göteborg, till, as he wrote, his "few and hastily collected people . . . worn out, partly sick and partly ill-disposed, and some had deserted," offered him the choice of mutiny or surrender. The forlorn little garrison marched out of the stronghold where Minuit had founded New Swedeland sixteen years before, with a feeble show

of "beating of drums, fifes, and flying colours, firing matches, balls in their mouths, with their hand and side arms." Free transportation to Europe was promised to all who preferred the Old Country to the freedom of New Netherland, and all Swedish property was guaranteed to the owners. Rysingh might have retained Christina under oath of allegiance to the Dutch, but he chose to return to Sweden, where he spent many years in trying to induce the government to send him back to recover the domain.

When New Swedeland fell, it numbered nearly twenty settlements, villages, trading forts, and groups of farms, in what the English long afterwards set off as Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as well as Delaware; the whole number of people, which was apparently never recorded, has been estimated at not more than three thousand, perhaps much less.

A DECADE OF DUTCH DOMINION

The Dutchmen's rule lasted for ten years, filled with trouble and change, of which we have little record but lists of names. It was a rule that did nothing to advance the prosperity of the colony, and neither encouraged commercial enterprise nor promoted agricultural improvement; but it left a door open for the smuggling adventurer and encouraged in the settlers a disposition to carry on clandestine trade. Stuyvesant placed his officers over the conquest, and sent some families from New Amsterdam, who laid out a small village under the

protecting shadow of Fort Casimir. But the directors in Holland soon began to think that their South Bay territory only added to their already troublesome burdens, and made over that often-conveyed strip of western shore between Christina or Minquas' Kill and Bomptjes Hoeck to the city of Amsterdam in consideration of advances that the burgomasters had made to the Company. Then this portion of the country was called the Colony of the City, or the Colony of Nieuwer Amstel. Fort Casimir and the small new village adjoining were also known by this name. In the early spring of 1657 it was placed in charge of Jacob Alrichs, a severe and avaricious man, who was furnished with powers that he used cruelly, and with a set of regulations suggesting that the people had had trouble over fences, goats, and many other such matters. No one was permitted to enter the fort by land or water without leave. In order to save the wood for the use of the fort and town, it was decreed that no one should settle within the four miles between this post and Christina. The burgomasters of Amsterdam enthusiastically offered large inducements to emigrants; but were discouraged by the fate of their first company, over a hundred people, who narrowly escaped death by shipwreck, only to catch colds and fevers through ignorance or carelessness in the balmy climate. Many, especially the children, died. While the poor survivors were eating their reserve of seed corn, the discouraged burgomasters notified them that they would supply provisions no longer, and that taxes, from which

the people had been promised exemption, would be laid on their land and their trade. All who could do so left the colony for Maryland, Virginia, New Netherland, or their former homes in Holland. Bancroft says, "The attempt to elope was punishable by death, yet scarcely thirty families remained." The city tried in vain to induce the Company to resume the territory. It was said that New Amstel had gained "such a bad name that the whole river would not wash it out."

The Company retained the shore both below and above New Amstel, buying from the Indians all the territory from Bomptjes Hoeck to Cape Henlopen, throwing up defences and building a village where twenty-nine years before Zwanendael had been planted and destroyed, and where, apparently, the whale fisheries still flourished. The land north of Christina Creek was the colony of the Company. Under Stuyvesant's officers the desolated Swedish places were rebuilt and renamed. Christina, called Altona, was made the capital; and thither, in the fall of 1658, William Beekman, a genial and intelligent alderman of New Amsterdam, was sent as vice-director. Another Dutchman was appointed Schout-fiscal and interpreter over the Swedes, to see that they did not remain in the forts during the night or do anything amiss. More than once they were requested to gather into one settlement, but they preferred to remain in the homes they had already made, though Alrichs's harshness drove many of them into Maryland. Beekman saw that the region had no people to spare, with barely a hundred

and fifty Swedish families and still fewer Dutch; and when Stuyvesant a second time desired the Swedes to gather into one settlement, Beekman, instead of using force as directed, wrote to Stuyvesant that it was "unmerciful to force people from their cultivated lands and put them to new labour and expense." He said that the colony could ill afford to lose those who were gone, and requested that the order should be revoked and the families provided with books and other inducements to remain and draw back their friends from the English provinces. They were a devout and apparently educated people, inclined to farming, while the Dutch took to trade. In a few years the neighbours of the two races understood each other's speech, the young ones intermarrying, and the religious Dutch attending the Swedes' church. Immediately they were jostled by Englishmen. Mr. Gay says:

"Where ships of all nations now ride safely at anchor off the quaint little village of Lewes, under the lee of the Delaware breakwater . . . more than two centuries ago, the little vessels of New England lingered for wind and tide [going for or returning] with their cargoes of peltries . . . and laughed at the Dutch garrisons as they never had been able to laugh at the soldiers on this bay before."

Worse trouble threatened when Stuyvesant demanded that Maryland should give up fugitive settlers from the South Bay. For answer, Lord Baltimore asserted his charter right to the territory below the fortieth parallel. Some time in 1659,

Colonel Nathaniel Utie and a delegation of none too amiable-looking Marylanders appeared at New Amstel with a demand from their Governor Fendall for the country's surrender. The Dutchmen had but twenty-five soldiers all told, two thirds of them seventy-five miles away at Horekill, while the people, "worn out with sickness and sullen with discontent," gathered about Utie to hear him "insinuate" the "good conditions" of the Maryland government, which offered "protection in their lives, liberties, and estates" — when it could not keep its own settlers in order! Utie told Alrichs that the Maryland authorities were determined not to let the opportunity "pass by, convinced as we are of your weakness" from the desertion of colonists. But with Beekman's aid in courteous manœuvring the visitors were turned homeward, convinced, if the Dutchmen had known it, that Maryland had not militia enough to enforce the claim. Alrichs and Beekman, believing that they had merely gained a little time by diplomacy, hastened to lay the matter before Stuyvesant, who displaced them from office and abused them roundly for their temperate course, but pursued the same himself. Although with one of his new officers he sent sixty soldiers, his "real reliance was upon his ambassadors, Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, who were to push on to Maryland, armed only with his letter of remonstrance," and who "pinioned their opponents on that clause in the Maryland charter limiting the province to "*hactenus inculta*, hitherto uncultivated country, inhabited only by Indians," and forced

them to refer the matter to their superiors in Europe. The next year the Dutch West India Company's Chamber of Nineteen told Lord Baltimore's attorney "they will use all means God and nature have given to protect the inhabitants of their territory." Two years later, when Beekman was back in Altona, he wrote to Stuyvesant that he had heard of the arrival of Lord Baltimore's son in Maryland, and that "nothing further is mentioned of any intentions upon this district"; but later when he was advised that the "young Baltimore" was about to visit "the River," the civil sub-director lamented that Altona contained not a single draught of French wine to offer the distinguished visitor, and begged the Director to "send some and charge it to me."

The unpopular Alrichs, also restored, died about this time, and his post in the New Amstel Colony was given to Alexander D'Hinoyossa, who at once set up quarrels and intrigues against his neighbour in office. Beekman said, "He feels himself pretty high and is strutting forward in full pride." Soon he was off secretly for Holland. In February, 1663, the city of Amsterdam took over the Company's colony; D'Hinoyossa returned as Governor of the whole territory; and "strutted forward" in greater pride than ever for about a year and a half, till the English caused his fall.





CHAPTER IV

A CENTURY AND A DECADE OF ENGLISH CONTROL

THE TERRITORIES OF NEW YORK

AFTER Colonel Nicolls had conquered New Netherland in the early autumn of 1664, he bethought himself of the settlements on the Delaware, as the English called both bay and river. They were not within the limits of the Duke of York's patents, but they were part of the Dutch occupation; so he sent his demand for the surrender of the country with a small force commanded by Sir Robert Carr, one of his associates on Charles II.'s famous "Commission for Enquiring into the State of New England." With "no resistance and almost no parley," submission was made on October 1, 1664, and the district was soon furnished with a rudimentary government under the name of the "Delaware Territories." It was afterwards called the New Castle Colony of New York.

Carr did not follow the generous example of Nicolls. He allowed some of the Dutch officers to leave the country in peace, but seized the valuable

estates of Director D'Hinoyossa for himself, while his soldiers plundered the submissive Dutch and Swedes, and even seized some of them and sold them as servants to Virginia planters. Nicolls stopped such proceedings, ordered fair play, removed duties from trade, and tried to content those who remained. But after three years or so, when he gave place to the tyrannical Governor Lovelace, the ten-per-cent. duty was renewed, and other harsh measures pressed upon the helpless people. A resolute military commander was in charge, but the civil power seems to have been given to "the bailiff, alderman, and other magistrates, mostly Dutch and Swedes, continued in office" from the earlier governments. It is said that for over ten years "the English . . . allowed the people to be governed by the mixture of Swedish and Dutch laws, which had long prevailed. The intention of the English was to gradually change them." Not until 1675 was enforced the elaborate "code" of the Duke's laws, providing "for everything: branding of cattle, fees of constables, viewers of pipe-staves, and cutting of underbrush." The regulations were made up from those of other colonies "with improvements"; they were not framed by the people of the country, and do not reflect the thought or the condition of those who lived under them. They were, however, "declared not to apply in matters relating to courts, county rates, and militia, which were left as before." When the settlers were summoned to make the long and expensive journey to New York to receive the Duke's

deeds for their lands, there were many who declined to obey; this gave room for much questioning of title in after years.

No one could thank Lovelace for such leniency as was shown. He said: "The method for keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but to discharge them." On the occasion of his rare visits, he lived in the best state afforded by New Amstel, or Delaware Town, as it was called. In 1672, he incorporated it as the town of New Castle, with a bailiff and six assistants, and liberty to trade without entry at New York. Lovelace's residence, which stood until the beginning of the nineteenth century, was a large mansion of brick, with great hewn timbers and cement made with lime burnt from oyster-shells.

As a free port, the largest village, and the seat of government, New Castle became "the important point in the opinion of the outside world." Northward lay the much diminished hamlet and ruined fortifications of the Swedish Christina, which the English called Christeen, ignoring the Dutch name of Altona, and near which Wilmington was built some fifty years later. Farther north were Upland and many other settlements afterwards incorporated into the province of Pennsylvania. Southward from the primitive capital were St. Jones, near what is now Dover, and a whale-fishing station at Cape Henlopen, not far from the site of the Dutchmen's first tragic settlement of Zwanendael. The latter was known by several corruptions of the name

Hoornkill, and later built up by the town of Lewes.

The English did no more to improve farming and trade on this shore than the Dutch had done. Their cruisers "cut off the New England and Long Island contrabandists, crushing the principal source of all the little business that animated the cheerless life of the settler." As farming industries dwindled, the traffic in rum increased, and under its influence the first murders by Indians were committed.

The conquered people refused to become English. They taught their children to speak their mother-tongues, and to cherish their national customs and religion, the Dutch helping to support the Swedish churches. One small attempt at rebellion was led by Marcus Jacobson, who called himself a son of the great Swedish general, Köningsmarck, but who was known here as "The Long Finn." A dominie and at least one person of considerable property were among those who joined him in trying to induce the Swedes and Finns — whom Bancroft calls the most patient of all immigrants — to set up the standard of their own sovereign. Scarcely anything is known of the miniature rebellion. After arrest and trial in New York, Jacobson was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to a whipping, the brand of rebel on his breast, and transportation to Barbadoes, there to be sold into slavery. The other leaders forfeited one half of their possessions to Charles II. or his brother, the Duke of York, and gave security for good behaviour.

There is one other incident of this time told in

the scanty records. A party of Marylanders, headed by one Jones, and aided by Daniel Brown; a resident, took possession of the Hoornkill defences and settlement, and for some time held the personal property of the inhabitants, until, by order of the Council at New York, the " officers and magistrates of the town " rose up and regained control.

When the Dutch recaptured New Netherland, these shuttlecock territories passed the happy years of 1673-1674 under Peter Alrichs. The Dutch names were destroyed, and the western shore was divided into three judicatures. Of these the most southerly was about the Hoorn; the next included the capital; while the northerly division embraced Christina, Upland, and " the country up the river."

When all became New York again, names were made English once more, but the divisions were retained by the Duke's new Governor, Sir Edmund Andros. The next six or seven years are a blank, though hardly, it is to be feared, because of the happiness that leaves no records. We know little more about the settlers than that they had many mills and prosperous farms, to say nothing of the splendid physique and sterling character which made them people much desired as colonists within the limits of Penn's " free and happy province."

THE " LOWER COUNTIES " OF PENNSYLVANIA

In 1681, the country again changed hands, though keeping its nationality. After William Penn had received from Charles II. the grant of Pennsylvania,

this small adjoining territory was presented to him by the Duke of York. Although it is believed that such title as the Duke could convey to the land did not carry with it any powers of government, it was with his Royal Highness's sanction, apparently, that the proprietor of Pennsylvania assumed control of all the western shore of Delaware Bay.

When Penn made his first visit to America in October, 1682, he landed at New Castle. All the people in the neighbourhood, and many from a distance, gathered to greet him. The great man looked little enough like a Quaker in his elegant court dress and lace ruffles. He was surrounded by such pomp and circumstance as the people had never seen, even upon the visits of the Duke's governors. In the court-house, with impressive ceremonies, he took formal possession of the territories, retaining the magistrates then in office, explaining his reasons for founding his province, and giving his solemn promise that the inhabitants of his lands should have, so far as he could give it them, "undisturbed enjoyment of civil and religious liberty."

The people were so pleased with Penn and his "holy experiment" in colonisation that they made formal request to be included under the government of Pennsylvania—as it was clearly necessary for them to do in order to give the appearance of legality to Penn's jurisdiction. They were cordially received. The freeholders of the province, immediately after the adoption of their constitution, passed an "Act of Union," annexing the Delaware territories, or the "three lower counties," of New

Castle, Kent, and Sussex, to the jurisdiction of their own three "upper" counties. The connection lasted but ten years, and even in this short period was broken and patched up again.

In the Provincial Council, which met in 1683 with nine members from each of the six counties, Penn promised them that they might "amend, alter, or add to" the constitution "for the public good," and said that he was "ready to settle such foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their posterity." A great day had dawned for these people. As Ferris* says:

"The constitution not only gave them freedom to direct their powers toward the attainment of desirable objects, but set before them an open door to the attainment of everything desirable to a rational mind. All the original settlers soon felt the change. From this period we perceive in their records the evidences of a more active condition. They were wholly untrammelled by Church and State—their people became councillors, legislators, officers in various departments under the government. Trade with foreign countries was opened, and a livelier communication with the rest of the world began to take place."

But it was clear from the first that the shrewd, frugal English and Germans of the upper counties, with their strong commercial instincts, must have the predominant part in any union with this small

* *A History of the Original Settlements of the Delaware from its Discovery by Hudson to the Colonisation under William Penn.*

group of easy-going Swedish and Dutch farmers and millers. Some writers say that the old stock felt a natural jealousy of the growth of the new colony, and of the city of Philadelphia, with its prosperous trade. Others think that good judgment dictated prompt measures to save the ancient Lutheran plantation from being absorbed by an aggressive people, for whose nationality and religion they had less of common interest than of hereditary dislike. At the first signs of the probable outcome in all matters of conflicting interests, the "lower counties" began to question Penn's rights over their territory. He lost no time in writing to his special friends, asking them to assert that his right was unquestionable, as based on a royal patent; "but," says Hildreth, "no other proof of the existence of such a document anywhere appears. No doubt he had intended to obtain one, but was prevented by the Revolution which drove James II. from the throne."

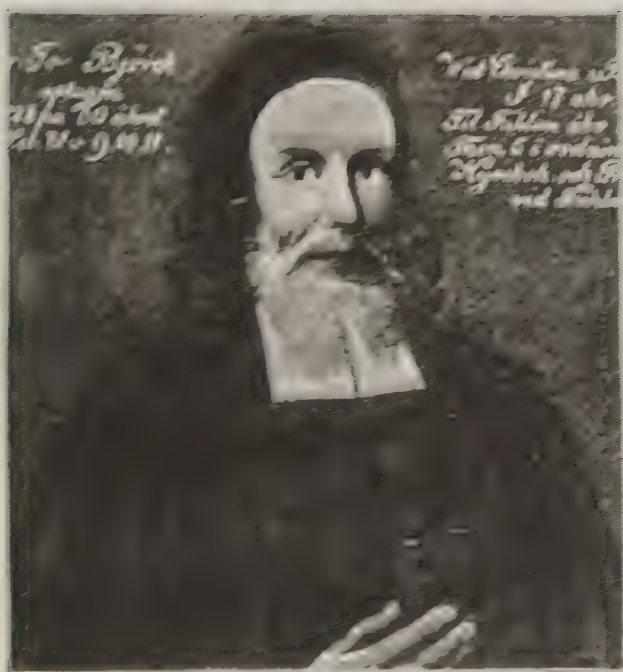
The first real measure of separation was adopted in 1691, when the six "councillors" from the lower counties found their wishes so opposed that they withdrew in dudgeon, called a legislature of their own, and elected for their Governor Captain William Markham, Penn's cousin, and the leader of his first immigration.

When, in 1693, King William sent out Benjamin Fletcher as Governor for the Crown, he called an Assembly from both upper and lower counties without distinction, and the incident closed. The genial soldier, who made many pages of pleasant reading

in the stories of New York and New Jersey, continued Markham as his deputy. With so popular an executive, and with the French war in Canada hardly affecting this region except to encourage a little privateering, the episode was of benefit to the territories, both for the time being, and after Penn's claims were restored to him.

The few records of the time show little but the people's devotion to their Swedish Lutheran worship. From 1691, when Jacob Fabritius, old and blind, was obliged to give up his ministry at Christina, the people of the "upper congregations" were without a settled pastor for six years, much to their distress. They offered a yearly salary of one hundred rix-dollars, with a house and glebe, and impressed their longing for a spiritual leader on the mind of Andrew Printz, then on a visit to the people once governed by his celebrated uncle. On his return to Sweden, he told their story to John Thelin, the postmaster at Gottenburg, who wrote to them that if they would clearly set down their needs on paper, he would present them to the King of Sweden. The people, before answering this letter, showed it to the Governor of Pennsylvania, who at once cordially approved of the plan. Soon afterwards Penn himself petitioned the Swedish Minister to England on their behalf, and sent them "a parcel of books and catechisms with a folio Bible for the church." Then, May 23, 1693, the colonists wrote to the friendly Thelin:

"We rejoice that His Majesty doth still bear us a



REVEREND ERIC BJÖRCK.

tender and a Christian care. Therefore do we heartily desire . . . two Swedish ministers, well learned in the Holy Scriptures . . . that we may preserve our true Lutheran faith, which, if called to suffer for, we are ready to seal with our blood. We also request that those ministers may be of good moral lives and characters so that they may instruct our youth by their example, and lead them into a pious and virtuous way of life. Also three books of sermons, twelve Bibles, forty-two psalm books, one hundred tracts, two hundred catechisms; for which, when received, we promise punctual payment . . . also a proper maintenance to the ministers. . . . We are for the most part husbandmen. We plough and sow and till the ground, and as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. This country is very rich and fruitful, and here grow all sorts of grain in great plenty, so that we are richly supplied with meat and drink; and we send out yearly to our neighbours on this continent and the neighbouring islands bread, grain, flour, and oil. We have here also all sorts of beasts, fowls, and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax, and many of them in weaving. . . . We live in peace and friendship with one another; and the Indians have not molested us for many years. Since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare for the sake of truth, that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch as by His Majesty the King of England, our gracious sovereign. The Swedes have been and still are true and faithful to him in word and deed. We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates, and we live in the greatest union and peace with each other."

At this time, it is shown by a list still extant, there were exactly nine hundred and forty-five Swedish families in what had been New Swedeland. Their requests for ministers were answered, after three years, by the arrival from Sweden of Andrew Rudman, Master of Philosophy; Eric Bjorck and Jonas Auren; all of whom were "welcomed with great joy." The letters of these active and scholarly men add many interesting details to our scant knowledge of the colony. Rudman wrote: "We live scattered among the English, yet our language is preserved as pure as anywhere in Sweden." Bjorck declared:

"The country is delightful, as it has always been described, and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labour. The taxes are very light. The farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. . . . There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves; for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labour can suffer want. The English have received us extremely well; the government is mild, and the people live quietly under Governor Markham, who reproaches us with not going often enough to see him, and has left us quite at liberty as to our Church discipline. There are many Swedes employed in the administration of the government."

Proof of their prosperity as well as of their devotion to religion was given by Bjorck's flock at once, when he proposed to build a stone church at Chris-

tina to be used in place of the wooden edifice at Crane Hook, the approaches to which were flooded at high tide. A creditable building was put up im-



OLD SWEDES' CHURCH.

mediately near the place where the first Swedish colony under Peter Minuit had landed, sixty-one years before, and was formally dedicated as Trinity Church on Trinity Sunday, May 5, 1699. There were many hundred persons present, for whom the thoughtful Bjorck provided refreshment, after the service ; and who, for their part, gave into the col-

lection hat the sum of two hundred dollars, equal to at least five times as much as that in our money. The Swedish government continued to keep the colonists supplied with missionaries, filling the places of any who died or wished to return home, until the end of the century, when "the Swedish language had ceased to be intelligible to the hearers, and the congregations" were "able to provide for themselves . . . more acceptable ministry." This was not until after the rebellion against England and the formation of the State of Delaware.

For a few years after William III. restored both Pennsylvania and Delaware to William Penn, they remained united peaceably under the administration of Markham, whom Penn reappointed chiefly because he could find no one else acceptable to all the colonists. From Markham, as the story of Pennsylvania tells, they secured a "Frame" of government according to their own wishes, and more liberal than that which Penn had given them.

In 1699, Penn arrived for his second visit, which, contrary to his plans, lasted only two years. When he bestowed upon his turbulent province the new constitution of 1701, founded on Markham's "Frame," he made every possible effort to secure the permanent annexation of the "lower counties." But the freeholders of Pennsylvania refused to guarantee "perpetual equality of power," though they offered, they said, very generous concessions. The Delawareans accepted the latter only with a provision allowing them a separate government after three years, whenever they might choose to with-

draw from the province. When Penn returned to England he left affairs in charge of the able and aged Deputy-Governor Andrew Hamilton; but Hamilton's power and tact, which for many years had held in check both the restless Jerseys, were unequal to maintaining this union.

THE ROYAL PROVINCE OF DELAWARE

In 1703, the province of Delaware declared its final separation from Pennsylvania, elected its own House of Representatives, and sent an agent to England to convey the people's assurance of their loyalty to Queen Anne, to show her Majesty that Penn had no right of jurisdiction, and to beg the appointment of a royal governor. In accordance with his principles of free government by the colonists themselves, Penn was obliged to accept the situation. He consented to the separation with good-will, but grieved for the necessity, and the Queen, to show favour to both sides, erected Delaware into a Crown province with a representative government and appointed Penn's deputy, the wild youth, John Evans, as her Governor. As her precedent was followed during about seventy-five years,—till both colonies became States,—Delaware was compelled to submit to the governors and councillors appointed in the interest of her great neighbour, but her House of Representatives and all other branches of government were entirely distinct. The outside world regarded her as a part of Pennsylvania. Historians so treat her,—owing to the

paucity of records of her own,—and indeed the bond seems to have been so close that many leading men held both estates and public office in the two colonies at the same time. The Delawareans, like the Pennsylvanians, were a peace-loving, simple, and dignified people. They were good neighbours for Friends, notwithstanding differences of religion and nationality and a disposition for active resistance to the first aggression upon what they considered their rights.

Unlike the Quakers in another respect, they welcomed colonists of the Church of England. It is of record that by 1723

“the English Episcopal and the Swedish Lutheran churches in America found themselves so nearly united in doctrine and in sentiment respecting other matters that . . . they officiated in each other’s churches.” Some English clergymen wrote to Sweden : “So great was our mutual agreement in doctrine and worship, and so constant were they in attending our conventions, that there was not visible discriminations between us, but what proceed from the different languages wherein they and we were bound to officiate.”

Samuel Hesselius, who came from Sweden in 1719, and remained twelve years, preached to Churchmen in Pennsylvania so much to their satisfaction that the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts “sent . . . ten pounds sterling as an acknowledgment of their gratitude for his services, with the promise of as much annually in future on receiving satisfactory

evidence that he had preached in the English churches at least twenty times a year."

It was while Samuel Hesselius was pastor at Christeen, probably in 1728, that Thomas Willing, an Englishman from Pennsylvania, built on the bank of the Christiana, as a home for his bride, the first house in what is now the metropolis of the State. Other dwellings soon arose about Willing's, forming the hamlet of Willington, which in some ten years numbered about a hundred and twenty buildings, and was chartered as the borough of Willington.

During most of this time, the sturdy and independent little colony was without settled boundaries, the field of contention between the proprietors of Pennsylvania on the north and Maryland on the west. In 1732, the lines were fixed by an agreement—made to be repented—by Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, and accepted without delay by William Penn's business-like son Thomas. The boundary on the north was that contended for by William Penn, almost a half-circle, drawn at a radius of twelve miles from New Castle until it touched a line on the west, running due south to Cape Henlopen at the mouth of Delaware Bay. A lively dispute over the true position of Cape Henlopen followed. It had been confused, some said, since early times with "a slight rounding of the beach and a boldness of outline on the shore" twenty miles farther south, which appears to incoming mariners, by an optical illusion common to that coast, as "a long tongue of land stretching out

into the ocean." It was said that the early Dutch navigators had called this latter Heenlooepen or Hinlopen, meaning a disappearing cape; but others say that the name was that of Inlooepen, a well-known Dutch merchant, or else a word meaning the "entering cape," contending that it was always applied to the real cape, while the deceptive tongue of land twenty miles to the southward was known as False Cape. At any rate, when the long-contested boundary line was run, it was from the false, not the true cape — which resulted in the addition of a goodly parcel of land to the small province of Delaware, though at the time the question lay between the Penn family and Lord Baltimore.

Now, indeed, for half a century the Delaware people seem to have had the happiness that makes no history, if we may judge from a manuscript in the possession of one of the oldest English families there — perhaps the only description of these times at present within our reach. It was written by Thomas Rodney of Kent County, a younger brother of Cæsar Rodney, one of the leaders in the struggle for colonial rights. He said:

"The manners and customs of the white people when I first remember were very simple, plain and social. Very few foreign articles were used in this part of the country for eating, drinking, or clothing. Almost every family manufactured their own clothes; and beef, pork, poultry, milk, butter, cheese, wheat, and Indian corn were raised by themselves, served them with the fruits of the country, and wild game for food; and cider, small beer, and peach and apple brandy for drink. The best

families in the country but seldom used tea, coffee, chocolate, or sugar, for honey was their sweetening. The largest farmers of that time did not sow over twenty acres of wheat, nor tend more than thirty acres of Indian corn, and there was very few of this sort, so that all the families in the country had a great deal of idle time, for, the land being fertile, supplied them plentifully by a little labour, with all that was necessary, nay with great abundance, more than enough, grudged nothing to those who happened to want. Indeed, they seemed to live, as it were, in concord; for they constantly associated together in one house or another in considerable numbers, to play and frolic, at which times the young people would dance, and the elder ones wrestle, run, hop, jump, or throw the disc, or play at some rustic or manly exercise. On Christmas Eve there was an universal firing of guns, and travelling round from house to house during the holiday, and indeed all winter there was a continual frolic at one house or another, shooting matches, twelfth-cakes, etc.

“ This manner of life continued until the war commenced in 1755, but this occasioned a sudden and universal change in the country. Soldiers were raised, and people formed into militia, great sums of government money were expended, new taxes were laid, and a great variety of civil and military offices became necessary. Produce became more valuable, etc., etc., then in a few years the country became engaged in more pursuits and put on quite a new appearance, yet this operated chiefly on the younger people, and the old habits and customs gradually wore off, until they are at length almost forgot; for what little remained till then was expelled by the Revolution, which has naturally wrought a far greater change than the former war.”

Exactly what these well-to-do and self-respecting colonists contributed to the French and Indian Wars it seems impossible to discover; or what part they took in the troubles of the provinces with King George III. that followed immediately after the conquest of Canada and the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Mr. Bayard says, in a valuable contribution to the meagre collections of Delaware's history, that at the time of the Stamp Act the people

"were apparently in the secure enjoyment of all and more than their progenitors had left Europe to secure. . . . Not only was every birthright of freeborn Englishmen amply proved and secured, but a freedom from the rule of classes and privileged orders was granted, to which English subjects elsewhere were strangers; local self-government in all its particulars and essentials was the wise basis.

"From the simple and happy pastoral life thus pictured by an eye-witness, Cæsar Rodney . . . emerged with his colleague, Thomas McKean of New Castle (a well known lawyer of Pennsylvania), took his seat in . . . the Stamp Act Congress . . . in New York in October, 1765." Their share "in this important Congress was conspicuous and influential." They "appear to have supplemented the designs and objects of each other throughout in the most zealous and efficient manner."

When they returned to Delaware they were received "with high honour and every manifestation of respect, and their action in the Congress was approved unanimously of the General Assembly, and a vote of thanks for their energy and ability was passed. Upon the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 Mr. Rodney was appointed

by the Legislature, together with Thomas McKean and George Reed, to prepare an address to the King expressive of their grateful sentiments, . . . and this paper was marked with the sincere and tenacious devotion to the Crown which befitted the most attached subjects."

In the quiet before the next storm, Rodney's influence grew to great power in the Legislature and throughout the colony, though he tried in vain to abolish slavery. He was Speaker when smouldering discontent broke into flame at the news of the closing of the port of Boston. "No colony moved with more alacrity than Delaware" upon Massachusetts' request for a Continental Congress. Freeholders' meetings were held in each of the three counties, and on August 1st the counties united in a convention at New Castle, which, with Rodney as chairman, passed resolutions of no uncertain tenor, and clearly the work of men well instructed in English law. Rodney, McKean, and Reed were sent to the Congress at Philadelphia. The Legislature approved of that body's action also, and the share taken in it by its delegates.

Of McKean's reputation and services to the whole country, Mr. Bayard says, "it seems impossible to speak too highly, and he was the only man who, without intermission, served as a member of the Continental Congress from the time of its opening in 1774 until after the treaty of peace was signed in 1783." During part of that time he was also Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, as well as President of the State of Delaware.

The spirit of resistance was much more decisive and more general here than in Pennsylvania. "The stir of military preparations . . . began before the battle of Lexington . . . in the enrollment and equipment of the militia." It is believed that the colony numbered at most thirty-five thousand souls, two thousand of them negroes; the military age was declared to be between sixteen and fifty years, and therefore it has been estimated that twenty-one hundred and twenty-five able-bodied men might have been a fair proportion for the little colony's force. But she raised over forty-seven hundred men for the Continental army, beside military battalions and companies for home protection. Upon the call of Congress a regiment was made ready at once to join Washington's army before Boston. Other divisions were so disposed as to defend the province; and in that duty Mr. Bayard says, so far as he can discover, they were not aided by any armed forces from the Continental army. He states also:

"Our little commonwealth in the war for American independence discloses the name of no venal or selfishly ambitious trader in his country's woes. . . . Their numbers were few, and the trumpet of local . . . laudation not so loud as may sometimes have been heard in other quarters, but every Delawarean may ask the whole world to look upon the unsullied record of our Revolutionary ancestors, and find there abundant cause for honest pride and grateful remembrance. . . . At all the conferences and conventions at any time called during the colonial period, and in the

Continental Congress each colony was an integer, with an equal vote on all questions. . . . Thus an importance attached to the action and influence of this State disproportionate to the mere number of its inhabitants, but which has operated always for the promotion of the welfare of the Union. The character of the individuals chosen to represent the freemen of Delaware on sundry important occasions in the history of the formation of our government, and in the stormy time in which our institutions had their birth, has added justly to the reputation of the State in the federal councils. . . . The disposition of our citizens to select wise and honourable representatives" was due "to the good and substantial material of which the community was composed."

The Declaration of Independence was hailed here with satisfaction. A convention of ten delegates from each county met at New Castle on August 27, 1776, and agreed upon the government of the "Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware," which formed the State.





CHAPTER V

MARYLAND, SEVENTH COLONY—THE FIRST AMERICAN PALATINATE

THE forerunners of the Colony of Maryland, who give it the seventh place, were Virginia traders. About the year 1631, they fixed stations on the Patuxent River and elsewhere in the upper Chesapeake, especially on Kent Island, which in 1632 sent a burgess to the Assembly at Jamestown. In the same year, notwithstanding the hostility of the Virginians to the idea, Charles I. created a palatinate for Lord Baltimore out of the region between the Potomac River and the fortieth parallel. In honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria, he named it *Terra Mariæ*, translated by Englishmen into Maryland. It included all the territory of the present State, besides a broad strip to the northward of what is now Mason and Dixon's line, all of the State of Delaware, and a goodly portion of West Virginia. But greater than the cession of these broad acres were the powers of the charter that went with them, copied by the baron himself from the instrument which he had drawn up for Avalon in New-

foundland, and which was modelled on the ancient privileges of the bishops of Durham, — "really," says Mr. Fiske, "the charter of a hereditary constitutional monarchy." Mr. William Hand Browne,* the historian of the State, writes that "it contained the most ample rights and privileges ever conferred by a sovereign of England," requiring the supremacy of the Crown to be acknowledged only by the annual presentation of two Indian arrows at Windsor Castle, and a fifth of all the gold and silver mined there, which proved to be none. Baltimore was authorised to plant a colony and to grant the freemen or their representatives the power to make their own laws; but he was also empowered in his own right to veto those laws, to create courts, appoint judges, and pardon criminals, while he could bestow on his colonists free trade, their own coinage, their own peerage, and a long list of liberties, only "as agreeable to the laws and statutes of England as far as conveniently might be."

His object was to provide a refuge for Roman Catholics, then under penal disabilities in England; but he offered protection also to every Christian sect—a liberality which was denounced by the English Commons, and practically unknown elsewhere, except in the Netherlands and in some parts of the Turkish Empire.

Charles I. pledged himself to lay no taxes of any kind upon the people of this province, and declared their charter right to resist any such demand, though his sons ignored these pledges. Excepting

* *Maryland: the History of a Palatinate.*

that of Avalon, it was the first charter of its kind for plantation in America, and although nothing quite so liberal was ever issued again, every colony afterwards founded," says Mr. Fiske, "except in New England, was at first, in theory at least, a tolerant palatinate, with either a single lord proprietor or a board of proprietors at its head."

This was the swan-song of George Calvert, first Baron Baltimore, the project that made him great,



GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD
BALTIMORE.

Reproduced from an old Print.

after many years of moderate usefulness in the Court of James I., where he had risen to the office of Chief Secretary of England, and had been able to retire, on becoming a Roman Catholic, without loss of favour from the sovereign he had served, or from Charles, when he succeeded his father.

Moreover, both faith and favour passed to

his sons, when he died, cut off in his prime, just before he took possession of the new province. Without delay, on June 20, 1632, Charles I. signed the charter and placed the hereditary palatinate of Maryland under Cecilius Calvert, second Baron Baltimore, heir to more than his father's abilities, as well as to

his colonial dream. Though often attacked from without and within, almost always violated, and once held in abeyance, this charter was held by five successive generations of the Calvert family, enduring nearly one hundred and fifty years, until Maryland became a State. All the five lords proprietors, except the last, were wise and generously devoted to the colony; but the forces without and within were so heavily against them that their administrations were punctuated by many changes of governors and dashed by treasonable plots and petty wars. For forty-three years Baltimore could never leave the continual intrigues of Court and Parliament against his undertaking long enough to set foot on his *Terra Mariæ*. All the adventures of plantation he yielded to his younger brothers, Leonard, George, and Philip Calvert, who were as eager as he to carry out their father's plans. Within a year after the charter passed the seals, Leonard, as Governor, crossed the winter seas with the best-equipped company that England had ever sent to America. For thirteen years, as long as he lived, Leonard Calvert was a straightforward, wise, and generous Governor. His right-hand men were a council of "worthy and able gentlemen adventurers," the good Jesuit Father Andrew White, brave Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, Jerome Hawley; and "very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and two or three hundred labouring men well provided in all things."

After a week of Governor Harvey's cordial entertainment at Jamestown, commanded by a letter from the King, the new colonists went their way,

with "cattle, hogs, poultry; two or three stocks already grafted with apples, pears, peaches, and cherries," besides an extra pinnacle; -- all of which had been most unwillingly supplied by the Virginians. Calvert notified William Claiborne that on Kent and Palmer islands, besides some other places, he was a trespasser against Baltimore, who, however, was ready to grant him trading privileges and accept the allegiance of his settlers. This Claiborne refused to allow, and, with many of the leading Virginians rallying round him, vainly devoted his notable abilities for the next twenty years to the destruction of the new province.

In the first breath of the Chesapeake spring, Calvert found the Potomac an earthly Paradise for the fulfilment of his father's dreams. The charm felt by all was expressed in Father White's fascinating,* if inaccurate, Latin narrative of their adventure. He says:

"A larger and more beautiful river I have never seen. The Thames, compared with it, can scarce be considered a rivulet; no undergrowth chokes the beautiful groves on each of its solid banks, so that you might drive a four-horse chariot among the trees."

They soon found waters and woods abounding in game. Instead of such Indians as Claiborne had described, too ferocious for white men to contend with, the colony met the friendly Yaocomicos, who willingly sold to Calvert their principal village, on a small branch of the river Potomac, near its mouth, for some steel hatchets, hoes, and cloth, agreeing to

* *Relatio Itineris*.

his naming it St. Mary's, and promising to remain for a time to teach the Englishmen their woodcraft, their skill at building wigwams and boats, their customs in hunting, fishing, raising maize, and preparing pone, hominy, and other food. Father White wrote that the pole-built wigwam of the Yaocomicos' chief was consecrated for the first chapel in Maryland. On an island named St. Clement's near the mouth of the Potomac,—now a sand bank,—on the day of the Annunciation, in March, a cross, hewn out of a great tree, was carried on the shoulders of the priests at the head of a solemn procession, and planted to show that this was to be a Christian land; the fathers chanting the litany and the colonists kneeling uncovered. Those of other religions were free to provide for their worship, and probably lacked nothing but a chronicler. St. Mary's never grew to more than a straggling village of sixty houses.

The good name of the new colony soon spread not only among the tribes of the neighbourhood, but to their over-lords the Susquehannocks, who were a ferocious race, at the head of the bay; and they, hard driven by their kindred of the Five Nations in what was then New Netherland, were glad to join the newcomers in a league of friendship and trade—becoming “a Bullwarke and security.” The Jesuit missionaries, here as everywhere, were tireless, not only in teaching their religion to the savages, but in showing them the simple arts of civilisation, nursing them in sickness and sharing food with them in famine. Mr. Browne says:

" They went from place to place in a boat,—these tribes being fishing Indians, and living on the creeks and inlets,—and if, towards evening, they reached an Indian village or hut, they were joyfully received; if not, they made fast the boat, the priest gathered wood and built a fire, while the others sought for game of some kind for the evening meal, after which they slept by their camp-fire in perfect security."

Within a year of their arrival, all of the freemen of the colony met with Calvert and his Council in the largest wigwam in St. Mary's. Objecting to the proprietor's framing the laws, for two years they flourished without any special enactments, as no other young colony yet had flourished. The settlers, who rapidly increased, took up land about the mouth of the Potomac, adopting the plantation life which the Virginians had slowly and painfully discovered for the whole tide-water country of the south. Rich and educated men brought their families, and five, ten, and twenty-five servants, many of good rank and quality, under indenture for three to five years' service in return for their passage-money. When his time was worked out, the servant became a freeman with a farm of fifty acres if a labourer; of twice or thrice as many if a craftsman, for it was necessary to encourage masons, bricklayers, shipwrights, leather-dressers, and others to follow. With two suits of clothes, a gun, some farming tools, and a hog or two from his former master, he soon became a prosperous planter. Fortunate Maryland had for a long time only desirable settlers. Mr. Browne says:

" The family was the centre of all in-
tion. As children grew up, they helped a
area of cultivation, or married and settled on
Poor relations were prized and valued membe
family, which prospered the more it increased.
penniless fellow was in fifteen or twenty years " a p
perous country gentleman, with broad acres around him
his sons' farms girdling his own, and his family connected
by intermarriages with his neighbours for miles around.
{ Nowhere was the marriage bond held in higher reverence
than in tide-water Maryland; and even now, Maryland }
is the only State in which no marriage is legally valid }
{ without some religious sanction. " }

After the first few years, when settlers were
tempted by still greater offers, everyone became lord
of a manor who took up a thousand acres, subject at
most to twenty shillings annual quit-rent, and who
brought out, says Mr. Fiske, " from England twenty
able-bodied men, each armed with a musket, a
sword-belt, a bandolier and flask, ten pounds of
powder, and forty pounds of bullets and shot." Aristocracy did not go beyond this moderate point,
notwithstanding Baltimore's elaborate powers for a
Maryland peerage. Each plantation growing to-
bacco for trade soon became a self-supporting com-
munity. The planters raised what food was needed
besides the abundance supplied by the woods and
waters close at hand, and enjoyed trade with other
European countries besides England, to the envy of
their neighbours in Virginia. Tobacco was the only
currency here for about twenty-five years. Mr. Fiske
says that each of these manors was

"a little world in itself . . . the great house . . . with its generous dining-hall, its panelled wainscoat, and its family portraits; there was the chapel, with the graves of the lord's family beneath the pavement and the graves of common folk out in the churchyard." There were clusters of smoke-houses, cabins, and other outbuildings, but few negro cabins for many years. Scattered about were the dwellings of the freehold tenants surrounded by the fields they leased and cultivated. Every manor was free to hold its own courts baron and courts leet. The court leet, like a New England town-meeting, was open to all freemen to make their own by-laws, elect constables, bailiffs, and other local officers, set up stocks and pillory, and sentence offenders to stand there. They empanelled their own jury, and with the steward of the manor presiding as judge, visited with fine or imprisonment the thief, the vagrant, the poacher, the fraudulent dealer. "The court baron was an equally free institution in which all the freehold tenants sat as judges" in all disputes over land rents, trespass, debts, and the like. "These admirable manorial institutions were brought to Maryland in precisely the same shape in which they had long existed in England."

Trouble soon came from Claiborne. Baltimore intended to have the matter settled in England; but the secretary-trader not only denied that he was a trespasser, but so persistently sent his vessels into Maryland waters that blood was spilled on both sides in the spring of 1635, and there was constant friction for two years, until Parliament's new Board of Commissioners for the Plantations declared the disputed islands to belong to Maryland.

In January of that year, 1638, another Assembly met, rejected the proprietor's body of laws, and voted that the province should be under the Common Law of England.

"At this moment," says Mr. Browne, Thomas Smith, an officer of Claiborne's, "was a prisoner in their hands awaiting trial on a charge of piracy and murder, and there was no grand jury to indict him, no court to try him, and no law to try him under. The knot was cut in the simplest possible way. The sheriff impanelled the whole Assembly as a grand inquest, and they brought in an indictment; the Assembly then resolved itself into a high court of justice, with Secretary Lewger as Attorney-General, gave the prisoner liberty of challenge, heard the evidence on both sides, and found him guilty; . . . and the Governor, as president of the court, pronounced sentence of death. A bill confirming the sentence was read thrice and passed, and the prisoner was executed. The House then resolved itself into a coroner's jury, and inquired into the deaths of the persons killed in the Pocomoke affair." This remarkable Assembly was almost to a man without experience in law-making or government, yet they solved "the difficulties before them in a way at once legal and perfectly effective, shaping their whole organisation and action in conformity with a clear ideal of what such a body should be and do."

Their proprietor, statesman as he was, saw that they could be trusted to manage the affairs of the colony, and authorised Calvert to approve their laws in his name, reserving his right of veto. So, within four years after the settlement, the principles and the fact of self-government were quietly and firmly

planted. The next year the government was put into permanent form. Representatives, called burgesses as in Virginia, sitting with the Governor and Council (made up of the Secretary, Surveyor-General, and other leading officers), constituted the House of Assembly, which, unless specially summoned, met once in three years at St. Mary's. The Governor received his salary from the proprietor, while other officers were paid by fees regulated by the Assembly. The burgesses went to St. Mary's in canoes or the light "pungies," the craft of the Chesapeake. The bays and rivers were the great highways. There were no carriages. Roads were always scarce in the province, but bridle-paths soon were beaten, and a stock of "wiry little horses" were bred "wild in the woods and swamps."

One of the next records is that the colonists, being prospered and desiring "to return some testimony of gratitude" to Lord Baltimore, voted him "such subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear." In these early years there seems to have been free play of gratitude and other rare virtues. It was an idyllic moment, on which it is pleasant to dwell, before the appearance of the all-devouring monster of self-righteous Puritanism.

The Indians showed their gratitude also for the good works of the Jesuit missionaries by large presents of land, which the Fathers received, of course, as presents to the Order, subject only to canon law. But this Baltimore would not allow. He was a good Catholic, but a just proprietor. He declared that

no land should be held in mortmain, and issued a new Condition of Plantations, dated 1641, which provided that no land should be granted to or held by any corporation or society, ecclesiastical or temporal, without a special licence from the proprietor. The Jesuits reluctantly released their land and accepted the Condition, in order to remain and see the fruits of their labours. To this day, Maryland is the one State of the Union in which no land can be "sold, given, or devised to a religious body, or for a religious use," excepting by the consent of the Legislature; and whose representatives cannot include and never have included any clergy.

The first of the petty wars broke out in 1644. During Governor Calvert's absence for the purpose of aiding his brother in making clear the colony's loyalty to the new Puritan Parliament and Parliament's satisfaction with the colony, a braggart Puritan sea-captain, Richard Ingle, while in the Potomac, took the King's name in vain. Calvert's deputies seized him for treason, but let him go. The Governor had scarcely returned when he put in an appearance again. With Claiborne aiding him by taking Kent Island, he marched into St. Mary's, overpowered the government, seized the records, stole the seal for the silver, sent Father White and the other missionaries in chains to England (where they were promptly released), and forced Calvert and his small but devoted following to flee to Virginia. For two years, known as the "plundering time," Ingle and his men pillaged the plantations, stripping mills of machinery and houses of furniture to sell them

in England. In concert with Claiborne, he set up what he called a government, imposing an oath of allegiance. He made much of the Protestant colonists, especially the Puritans, until the better sort of them, strongly convinced as they were of the divine right of Puritans to overthrow any other religion, joined the Catholics in welcoming back the Governor and a force composed of his escort and some neighbourly Virginians. To pay this little army, Calvert pledged his own and Baltimore's estates. In April, 1647, they took St. Mary's by surprise, and soon after were in complete possession of the colony. Claiborne was driven out, though not subdued, and pardon was granted to all who took the oath of fidelity except Ingle and his chief rogue, one Durford. But the next few months of "wise clemency" were the last of this excellent Governor's life.

Calvert died in June, 1647, directing his able kinswoman, Mistress Margaret Brent, to "take all and pay all." His personal estate amounted to but £110 sterling. His thirteen years in America had been occupied, not for his own profit, but in establishing the most enlightened and rapidly successful colony of his time, already ranking with the best on the coast. On the loss of this devoted fellow-worker the overburdened brother in England redoubled his devotion. He gave the colonists a new seal, increased their power at the expense of his own, and granted the burgesses or delegates, as they had begun to call themselves, the right to sit separately and act as a provincial parliament; upon which the

Lower House formally recorded his rights and the benefits he had secured to the province, "as a memorial to all posterity of their thankfulness, faithfulness, and obedience."

But, says Mr. Browne, in the whole group whom Calvert left behind him, the ablest character was Mistress Brent, "the only woman whose figure stands out clear" in the history of this colony. She and her sister Mary had come out nearly ten years before, bringing men and women. They had taken up manors, imported more settlers, and managed their affairs with masculine ability. As Leonard Calvert's "administrator," she

"was looked uppon and received as his Lps. Attorney," wherefore she "requested to have vote in the howse for her selfe and voyce allso. . . . The Govr. denyed that the sd. . . . Mrs. Brent should have any vote in the howse. And the sd. Mrs. Brent protested against all proceedings in this present Assembly unlesse shee may be present and have vote as aforesd."

When the little army that Calvert had led against Ingle and Claiborne grew clamorous for their money, Mistress Brent, commanding "a respect that they would have shown to none other," quieted them until she could pay them with some of the proprietor's cattle. His lordship took exception to this; but the Assembly told him that but for her "all would have gone to ruin."

Ruin threatened from other quarters. Within a year after Calvert's death, Baltimore saw the necessity of displacing his brother's successor, Thomas

Greene, a Catholic, by the good Protestant, William Stone, formerly a sheriff of Virginia and a known admirer of the Long Parliament. He held office for six most trying years. On the other hand, Charles II., then an uncrowned fugitive, took offence, and presented the palatinate to Sir William Davenant, the pretended son of Shakespeare. Happily some Parliamentary officers seized the half-crazy poet-laureate as he was starting for his suddenly acquired possessions, and no harm was done before the Prince found that his suspicions of Baltimore's loyalty were groundless.

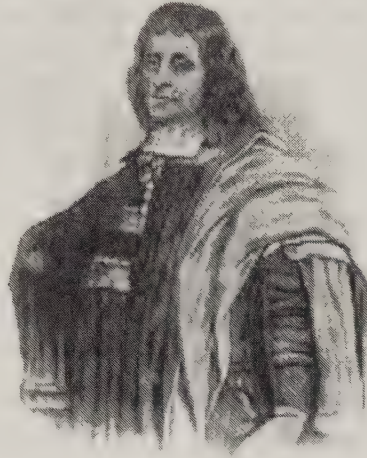
That same year the Assembly of Maryland passed what is commonly called the Toleration Act of 1649, exactly as drawn by the proprietor. By it,

"any reproachfull speeches . . . concerning the . . . Holy Trinity" were punishable "with death, and confiscation . . . of . . . lands and goods to the Lord Proprietor and his heires," and fines were fixed for "reproachfull words" against the religion of any Christian or Christian sect; to the end that no person "shall bee any waies troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion."

Intolerant as this was of all who were not Christians, it was remarkable liberality for the middle of the seventeenth century.

The first people to seek the protection of this act were the Puritans driven out of Virginia. Although they were bitterly prejudiced against Baltimore as a Catholic and a provincial proprietor, they knew that this was the best of all the colonies to live in, and

hoped that the government would soon be destroyed by Parliament. In the memorable year of 1649, about one thousand of them, nearly all in families, cleared the forests and planted what they called Providence,—which afterwards became Annapolis,—near the Chesapeake at the broad mouth of a river they named for the Severn, “at home.” The government erected their settlements into a county named for Lord Baltimore’s wife, who had been



CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD
BALTIMORE.

Reproduced from an old Print.

the Lady Anne Arundel, and “whose portrait by Van Dyck, preserved in Wardour Castle, shows her to have been one of the most beautiful women of her time.” The Puritans intended to manage their plantations independently of the province; they refused for some time to send their delegates to the Assembly, and when obliged to do so, immediately started factions, some to overthrow the proprietor’s government for one of their own; some to make common cause with the grievance-nursing Virginians

to annex Maryland to the Old Dominion; some, says Mr. Browne, even "sent a declaration to Parliament that Maryland was nothing but a nursery of Jesuits, and that the poor Protestants were everywhere suppressed." With the fact that they had found refuge there when driven from Virginia for his answer, Baltimore satisfied the Parliamentary committee, who renewed his charter, refused to annex Maryland to Virginia, and twice struck its name out when Claiborne, on the Parliamentary commission to reduce the "notorious rebels" of Virginia, forced the coveted province into his orders. But he succeeded in inserting "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake," set sail with his colleagues before the mischief was discovered, and was at St. Mary's early in 1652, where, to the joy of the Puritans, he bound Stone's government hand and foot. After two years, he and Governor Bennett of Virginia set up at Providence a regular Puritan government, with Captain William Fuller as president; passing an "Act of Toleration" for their own beliefs, but shutting out "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion." Then, "for religion and liberty" they fell upon the Catholics on the one hand, and on the other declared that everyone who had come into the province at his own cost should take up land exactly as he pleased. Baltimore, upheld by Cromwell, wrote to Stone to put down the rebellion. Stone attempted to surprise Providence with one hundred and thirty staunch men, flying their lord's colours—the brilliant black and gold, from which the Baltimore oriole was named. But

they were themselves surprised and overwhelmed by Fuller and a band of almost twice their number, aided by the fire of two Puritan merchant vessels in the river. This was Maryland's famous battle of the Severn, fought on March 25, 1655. One third of Stone's men lay dead or wounded on the field; their "Papist beads" scattered broadcast, as was gleefully recorded by one of their enemies. Stone was "shot in many places." A letter written the next year says:

"The Governor and others surrendered on the assurance of their lives; but these conditions were treacherously violated, and four of the prisoners were shot." The Virginians, as the insurgents were usually called, "rushed into our houses and demanded that the impostors, as they called them, should be given up to slaughter. By God's mercy the Fathers escaped, but their books and other property were seized. With the utmost hazard they escaped into Virginia, where they still are, sorely straitened, and barely able to sustain life; living in a little low hut, like a cistern or a tomb."

Baltimore then sent out his brother, Philip Calvert, as Secretary of the province, and Captain Josias Fendall as Governor. But President Fuller snapped his fingers at both of them, arresting Fendall "for his dangerousness," while Puritans in England tried to induce Cromwell to annul the charter, and still others from Virginia again asked for annexation. But the Lord Protector leaned to Baltimore's side. The Virginians, hastening to trim accordingly, with "friendly endeavours" aided in the confirmation of

Baltimore's rights. That was in March, 1658, six months before the powerful Oliver died.

During all this time Baltimore seems to have made no effort to colonise the Delaware shore, or to have asserted any claim over the Swedes. After the Dutch conquered them in 1655, he made a movement in that direction, but a feeble one; for with all its petty wars Maryland had no army. Orders went out at once requiring all able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty years of age to train regularly. On that, another despised sect clamoured for toleration to their way of thinking only—the Quakers who had found refuge here. But the Assembly promptly declared that all Quaker “vagabonds and idlers” should leave the province and not return on pain of being whipped out from constable to constable. This order never was enforced, apparently, and was soon dropped from the statutes; but training days went merrily on.

The Puritans who had to yield, after contesting his lordship's government for nine years, turned at once to plotting with the Governor, soon voted him “President” of the Lower House, “the lawful Assembly, without proprietor or governor and council”; and addressed themselves with loyalty to the new king; for this was on the eve of Charles II.'s restoration. But again they missed their aim. The King confirmed all of Baltimore's rights, ordering colonists to abide by them or leave the province.

Ever since the charter was granted “every engine had been brought to bear against Baltimore,” says Mr. Browne: “fraud, misrepresentation, religious

animosities, and force; and each for a time had succeeded." Yet he triumphed at last by "the justice of his cause, and his wisdom, constancy, and patience."

The government, when set up again by Governor Philip Calvert, with gentleness toward traitors and great generosity toward the faithful, remained undisturbed for twenty-seven years. The proprietor soon sent out his only son, the kind, just, and intelligent Charles Calvert, to be Governor, making his brother Philip Deputy-Lieutenant and Chancellor. The colonists, with some appreciation, enjoyed fourteen years under this remarkable combination of authority devoted to their interests, although so many other offices also were filled by relatives that objections often were heard against "the family party."

About the only result of the attempt to take the Delaware land from the Dutch, renewed under Governor Charles, was connected with Augustine Herman, a native of Prague and a surveyor, who was sent out by Stuyvesant to act as commissioner for the Dutch. But he fell in love with Maryland, and made an excellent map of it in exchange for a large tract on the Elk River, which had charmed him on his journey from New Amstel. To enable him to receive this estate, which was named Bohemia Manor and which was gradually increased to more than twenty thousand acres, the Assembly granted him (in 1666) the first letters of naturalisation in the province, some say in America.

Both manors and small plantations were now in-

creased by people from France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Finland, and Bohemia. In the one serious trouble, the persistent over-production of tobacco, Baltimore had a resource to relieve the inconvenience in the matter of the currency which the Virginians had not — his right to coin money. He sent specimen dies for a shilling, a sixpence, and a groat, saying, "It must not be imposed upon the people but by a law made by their consent." But it was welcome. The Assembly required "every householder to take ten shillings for every taxable in his family, paying in tobacco at twopence per pound," and fixed the intrinsic value at about ninepence for the shilling, seventy-five per cent. of its nominal value. Baltimore generously agreed to receive his revenues in the same currency.

Tobacco troubles went on, however. The embarrassments of over-production and competition were increased by the closing of the ports of Holland during the Dutch war, by the plague in London, which kept English ships away from the province, and by the determination of Charles II. that, in spite of any rash promises his royal father and grandfather might have made, charter or no charter, he would enforce the Navigation Laws on Maryland as well as on the other colonies. The charter was coolly ignored also by both the royal brothers in one encroachment after another upon the boundaries, beginning in 1664 with the King's grant to the Duke of York of the country held by the Dutch. This was more than matched six years later by the adjustment of the Virginia boundary by Colonel

Edmund Scarborough, who, in running a line from Watkins's Point east to the ocean, so slanted it as to give Virginia twenty-three square miles out of Baltimore's grant; while on the west, ignorance of "the most distant fountain of the Potomac" gave Lord Fairfax, the heir of the great Culpeper grant, room to claim that this territory extended to the north branch of that river; and bitter quarrels among principals and settlers lasted until 1852, when the State of Maryland conceded to Virginia half a million acres of the most fertile lands in Lord Baltimore's grant. Still greater slices were taken off on the north and east. But before that was done much else happened.

In 1675, after forty-three years of consummate care, the founder died, leaving Maryland with twenty-five thousand people, the third largest colony, although Virginia and Massachusetts were far ahead. Charles Calvert, after proving himself one of the most admirable governors in the colonies for fourteen years, became third Baron Baltimore and second proprietor of Maryland, to be committed for another sixteen years to a cruelly unequal fight with the enemies of his government and his land-holdings—at Court, in New York, in Virginia, and not least in Maryland itself. The colonists smuggled and quarrelled with the King's revenue collectors, two of whom were killed, though largely through their own folly. Petty Indian troubles seem to have been fanned by unfriendly white neighbours; and the old culprit, Josias Fendall, was found plotting to overthrow the government, for which he was banished,

while one of his confederates, a renegade parson, John Coode, was allowed to go free. Sometimes a governor was in charge, sometimes a board of deputy-governors, while Baltimore was in England hearing and answering the Protestants' false charges of persecution and of partiality in the administration. The excitement produced by the Popish Plot compelled him to fill all the offices in the province with Protestants; and even then it was called a "pesthouse of iniquity," and he barely prevented the establishment of the Church of England.

As yet it seems that but four Anglican clergymen had livings there; others were on the precarious support of voluntary contribution. Neither Anglicans nor Catholics were many, most of the people clinging to some form of Dissent. In 1682 another blow fell, when the Duke of York ceded the west shore of the Delaware to William Penn. After the Duke had become James II., the Privy Council reported that the peninsula between the Chesapeake and the Delaware should be divided by a meridian line running north from the latitude of Cape Henlopen, the choice falling upon the "False Cape," twenty miles below.

Although James II. was a sovereign of the proprietor's own faith, he made no exception of Maryland in his prompt measures to press more taxes out of the American Plantations. Baltimore pleaded his charter and the irreproachable administrations of his family, only to have the last Stuart king begin the *quo warranto* proceedings against the charter of his namesake, the first proprietor, and of "the

MARYLAND, SEVENTH COLONY

murdered father" he lamented. While the Revolution of 1688 drove out James and placed William and Mary on the throne, poor Baltimore had a revolution of his own. The renegade parson and pardoned plotter Coode, as a captain in the militia, led forth seven hundred armed men as "An Association in arms for the defence of the Protestant Religion and for asserting the right of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland and all the English Dominions." This "army" and its "general," as Coode was styled, seized St. Mary's, and published a jumble of incendiary "reasons" for the overthrow of the proprietor in a paper struck off by Nothead, the printer of the province — said to be the earliest known document with a Maryland imprint. They frightened the Commission of Deputy-Governors into fleeing for refuge to a fort at Mattapany, on the Patuxent, where he took them by siege. Then, declaring his Association the government of the province, Coode sent word to England that the Protestant inhabitants of Maryland, under arms, had secured the province to his Majesty and the Protestant religion. William sent his approval of the Association's acts; and after letting them carry full sail for a while, in 1691, taking his own way, irregularly and illegally, he declared Maryland under Crown government. The Associators' Assembly wanted the proprietor shorn of everything; but the King confirmed his property rights, "his quit-rents, his ownership of vacant lands, his port duty of fourteen pence per ton on all foreign vessels trading to the province, and his

one-half of the tobacco duty of two shillings per hog-head"; reducing the independent Lord Proprietor to a trader and landlord and shattering the one strong, broad, tolerant government then in America, wherein, for fifty-seven years, "all believers in Christ had been equal before the law, all support of churches and ministers voluntary," and the colonists the most privileged Englishmen on either side of the sea.





CHAPTER VI

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANT INTOLERANCE

FOR nearly a quarter of a century, from 1691 till 1715, while the Baltimore charter was held in abeyance, the government was under William III., "whose little finger was thicker than the loins of the proprietor," and under his more gentle sister-in-law, Queen Anne. The first royal Governor was Sir Lionel Copley, who died in about a year. He called an Assembly which thanked their august sovereigns for delivering them from "a tyrannical popish government under which they had long groaned," and by an act, as bitter to the Puritans as to the Catholics, divided the ten counties into parishes and laid on every taxable, rich and poor, an annual levy of forty pounds of tobacco per poll for the buildings and the clergy of the Church of England. Although the act was never confirmed in England, it was maintained after a fashion. Maryland was under Protestant intolerance for the rest of her provincial life; the "forty per poll" continually ringing in the ears of her people. As the quality of the tobacco was not specified, most

of them obtained some revenge by paying the tax in such unsalable refuse that English clergy soon learned that a "being" in Maryland meant the hardest of human yokes, unpopularity combined with poverty. Only the scum of the Church came, some evil enough to eke out their incomes, for instance, by stopping in the midst of a marriage service to extort a big fee before pronouncing the couple man and wife.

After a short, violent term under Sir Edmund Andros, Francis Nicholson brought order out of chaos in four years between his two terms in Virginia. He removed the capital from St. Mary's, "the social and political centre of Catholicism," to the Puritans' Providence on the Severn, then commonly called Anne Arundel Town, but renamed Annapolis, which could be construed as an honour either to the proprietor's mother or to the Queen's sister and successor. There Nicholson founded King William School, in 1696, securing an export duty on the fur-trade of the province for this and other schools, chiefly that the province might rear its own clergymen. A powerful fellow-worker for the Church was Dr. Thomas Bray, Commissary of Maryland under the Bishop of London. He was, says Mr. Browne, "a man with something of the apostolic character, who . . . devoted nearly all his fortune, as well as his personal labours, to building up the Church."

When King William's wars touched the Marylanders' pockets they were the only Southern colony to contribute toward the defence of Albany, but

they raised excuses for every other demand, in spite of all that Nicholson could do. His work in the colonies was crippled by a low story against his private character, started no doubt by the renegade Coode, in revenge because the Governor had caught him misusing funds he had raised to build a church, had censured his "notorious and flagitious life and conversation," and publicly caned him for being



OLD STATE HOUSE AT ANNAPOLIS.
From Ridgley's *Annals of Annapolis*.

drunk and disorderly during divine service. The rascal boasted that he "had pulled down one government and could pull down another"; but he ran for his life to escape indictments of the grand jury, and did not figure again in Maryland until after Nicholson was gone.

During the colourless four years' term of the next Governor, amiable Nathaniel Blackiston, a Tolera-

tion Act was passed for Quakers and other Dissenters, allowing them to retain their faith so long as they turned in their full weight of "forty per poll" for the parish churches. In the first part of Queen Anne's reign, when John Seymour was Governor, the province was so progressive that eight times in the year letters were forwarded from the Potomac to Philadelphia. Tobacco was still the staple, but so much hemp and flax were raised that both were used sometimes, as tobacco was, for currency.

"In 1706 . . . the manufacture of linen and even woollen cloth was attempted. . . . Maryland surpassed every other province in the number of its white servants. The market was always supplied with them, and the price varied from £12 to £30. . . . The number of bond and free must have exceeded thirty thousand; yet a bounty for every wolf's head continued to be offered; the roads to the capital were marked by notches on the trees; and watermills still solicited legislative encouragement."

During the Queen's war the French annoyed the frontier somewhat with their "naked" Indians, while their cruisers despoiled plantations on the Bay and threatened Annapolis. Privateers, and Captain Kidd and other pirates, infested the coast. But the greatest evils were the false accusations raised against the few Roman Catholic colonists that they were aiding the French. Mr. Browne says:

"Certainly a government that treated them as aliens

and probable traitors had small claim to their allegiance; but as a matter of fact there is no evidence that there was the least disloyalty to England among them. Yet fine and imprisonment" was laid on a priest who exercised "any priestly function; and any member of the Church of Rome who should teach or even board young persons, was to be sent to England for prosecution. Children of Catholics were encouraged to forsake their parents' religion. A duty of twenty shillings per poll was laid on all Irish Papists brought into the Province." Lawyers of that faith were forbidden to practise.

But, as Mr. Fiske says, "oppressive statutes did not prevent them from increasing in numbers and the influence which ability and character always wield. They were pre-eminently the picked men of the colony."

The old proprietor, too, was persecuted to renounce his faith. Neither threats nor inducements tempted him; but he saw his only son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, yield for himself and his children, accepting the reward of a pension from the Queen and the privilege of naming John Hart as the Governor some time after Seymour's death. The staunch old Catholic died in February, 1714, at the age of eighty-five, soon after the Queen. His Protestant son lived only six weeks as the fourth Baron and third proprietor; but he secured the favour of the new King, George I., for his son Charles, who, though still a boy, was invested with full powers as the fourth proprietary of Maryland, an act, his Majesty said, "to give encouragement to the educating of the numerous issue of so noble a family in the

Protestant religion." The boy's guardian, Lord Guilford, assumed the administration in his name, after it had been twenty-three years under the Crown, retaining Governor Hart and allowing an admirable revision of the laws, which was almost the last act of the royal Assembly, and which "remained, broadly speaking, the law of the province, and fundamentally the law of the State almost to our own time."

Maryland at this time was a province of some fifty thousand people, over nine thousand of them negroes. The last Catholic proprietor had ruled out white convict slaves for ever; but traffic in blacks from Africa had thriven under Royalty. The largest number of slaves known to have been owned by any one man was fifteen hundred on the estates of a Marylander, about six hundred more than were owned by any Virginian.

Governor Hart was succeeded in 1720 by Baltimore's uncle, another Charles Calvert, and he, on his death, by the proprietary's brother, another Benedict Leonard Calvert. He came out in 1726, but resigned five years later, and died on his homeward voyage, leaving his mark in the foundation of the new city of Baltimore, upon the Patapsco at the head of tide-water, destined to be the metropolis of the province and of the State, although it grew so slowly that after twenty years there were "only about twenty dwellings and perhaps one hundred inhabitants." At least two towns of this name had already been proposed; but in Maryland towns did not flourish; and there is not a

record to tell their histories nor a stone to mark the site of Baltimore on the Bush River, laid off in 1683, nor of another town bearing the name in Dorchester County, located ten years later. The rise of the third and prosperous Baltimore was secured at the expense of poor Joppa on the Gunpowder, which was established next after Annapolis, and "had a fair share of prosperity for fifty years and more, until . . . Baltimore drew off her trade and she gradually dwindled . . . to a solitary house and a grass-grown graveyard."

The next Governor was Samuel Ogle, whose clear head and good heart served both proprietary and colonists for almost twenty years of tranquillity, broken by occasional efforts to have the charter annulled, which were easily put down, by insignificant conflicts with the Indians, by a share in the Cartagena expedition under Admiral Vernon in 1737, and by disputes upon the Virginia and Pennsylvania boundaries. In 1732, an agreement was made with the sons of William Penn on the present line, instead of the fortieth parallel, which was nothing less on Baltimore's part than making to the Penns a "voluntary inexplicable surrender of his rights without reason or compensation," involving two and a half millions of acres to which Penn's patents laid not even the shadow of a claim. Baltimore came to the province soon afterward, staying about two years; and upon the discovery of what he had done, applied to King George II. to help him recover his loss by a confirmation of the charter promises first made to his family by James I.; but the King

declined to be burdened with the favouritisms of his distant ancestor.

Meantime the whole border took sides, and soon was thrown into confusion by some fifty families of German Palatines, recent settlers in Baltimore's country, who refused to pay their taxes and declared themselves under Pennsylvania, tempted by a government requiring no military duty and no "forty per poll." "Sheriffs on both sides summoned posses and made inroads into the debatable territory, arresting and carrying off prisoners; houses were attacked by armed bands, and men on both sides beaten or dragged off to prison"; until, at Maryland's request, the King in Council commanded peace.

During "King George's war," from 1744 to 1748, there was some suffering and more alarm from Indians on the frontier. The Assembly sent three companies to Albany to assist in the proposed conquest of Canada, but flatly declined to respond to his Majesty's requisition for money. It was not because they were poor. By the middle of the century, the province had a great export trade not only in tobacco but in the products of iron mines and furnaces, in furs and lumber, besides wheat enough to ship one hundred and fifty thousand bushels a year.

At that time, after an unbroken line of able and generous proprietors for nearly one hundred and twenty years, a degenerate son succeeded his fathers, like a visitation upon the children in the third and fourth generations of those who had



MOALE'S SKETCH OF BALTIMORE IN 1752.
From the Original in the Possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

abused the founders of their liberties. On the death of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, in April, 1751, Maryland fell for twenty years under his dissipated, avaricious son, Frederick, the fifth and last proprietary, the sixth and last baron, who used the province as his ancestors had never done, for his own purposes. These powers Mr. Bancroft sums up thus:

“ On acts of legislation to him belonged a triple veto, by his council, by his deputy, and by himself. He established courts and appointed all their officers; punished convicted offenders or pardoned them; appointed at pleasure councillors, all officers of the colony, and all the considerable county officers; and possessed exclusively the unappropriated domain. Reserving choice lands for his own manors, he had the whole people for his tenants on quit-rents, which, in 1754, exceeded \$25,000 a year, and were rapidly increasing. On every new grant from the wild domain he received caution money; his were all escheats, wardships, and fruits of the feudal tenures. Fines of alienation, though abolished in England, were paid for his benefit on every transfer, and fines upon devises were still exacted. He enjoyed a perpetual port duty of fourteen pence a ton on vessels not owned in the province, yielding not far from \$5000 a year; and he exacted a tribute for licenses to hawkers and pedlers and to ordinaries. These were the private income of Lord Baltimore. For the public service . . . an export tax of a shilling on every hogshead of tobacco gave an annually increasing income of already not much less than \$7000 a year, more than enough for the salary of his . . . governor; while

other officers were paid by fees and perquisites." Some of his forty parishes, under the forty per cent, paid £1000 sterling a year, giving this route "more church patronage than any landholder in England; and, as there was no bishop in America," he gave it to men of the lowest crimes.

But to counterbalance all the scamps sent out to make "Maryland parsons" a byword and secular officers a reproach, two admirable governors were allowed to cover the whole twenty years. The first, who came in 1753, was Horatio Sharpe, the man of arms, of forcible speech and staunchest loyalty to his proprietary and his king, who governed the province for thirteen years, leaving us many an interesting glimpse of the times in his letters. The old Catholic families of the province, he said, were but about one twelfth of the whole population and above reproach; but the Assembly, by reason of the shortness and frequency of the sessions, showed "too many instances of the lowest persons, at least those of small fortunes, no soul, and very mean capacities, appearing as representatives."

Certainly they so showed themselves during the last French and Indian War, which was opened at their own door soon after Sharpe came; and for which they would vote almost nothing but sums to be raised largely out of Baltimore's revenues, knowing that Sharpe could not consent to them. The despicable proprietor thought nothing of the anxiety the best men felt for the province, nor of the sufferings of the frontiersmen. He wrote only of good

places for more favourites, due severity against Catholics, prompt remittance of his revenues, hampers of Maryland partridges, and boxes of dried rattlesnakes. But Sharpe found men and money to aid him in answering the first call for defence from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia when the French were at Fort Duquesne, and their Indians terrorising the whole frontier. He took charge of the forces from all the neighbouring colonies at the wooden stockade called Fort Cumberland, in western Maryland, when young Washington of Virginia resigned upon the blundering order from England that Crown officers should outrank provincials. With Sir John St. Clair, he surveyed the country and examined the upper Potomac for Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne. In the winter of 1765, the British forces were landed and swarmed all over the small, new town of Alexandria, near the head of navigation on the Potomac. It was there that the governors of most of the provinces met Braddock and assured him that the general fund required for his expedition could be raised only by act of Parliament, and many urged a stamp duty which had been suggested before. Thence Braddock set forth in April across the fertile province, stripping the Marylanders of servants, waggon, and horses without so much as "by your leave." After he reached the frontier, refusing all advice to let his men thread the woods Indian fashion, he built his roads as he went and marched his men over them while the hostile Indians filled the woods, killing or carrying off the settlers and burning their farms in the intervals

of watching the brilliant redcoats progress two miles a day, and picking them off as it pleased them. Even when the desperate people, left in this plight, threatened to march upon Annapolis in a body and compel the Assembly to protect them, the delegates would pass no bills not including a double rate on Catholics and a tax on the proprietor's manors. Sharpe agreed, writing Baltimore that the whole province west of the Bay was in danger of being depopulated and "it was better to pay a tax on his manors than lose half his revenues and his manors to boot." Then the Assembly voted £40,000 for building the substantial Fort Frederick and other defences, issuing bills of credit, and providing additional taxes and duties to create a sinking fund for their redemption. Among these new taxes was one on bachelors "as men who were derelict in a citizen's first duty at a time when it was most imperative." After the victorious French Indians had made the country a desert west of Conococheague, and Washington had said that unless defence was provided a few days more would not see fifteen families left in Frederick County, the Assembly showed unusual liberality in paying a bounty of £50 a scalp to a party of Cherokees who offered their services, and proved valuable scouts; but the delegates still so hampered the Governor's command that he was obliged to rely chiefly on volunteers for men, and for supplies on merchants and others willing to take their chances of being paid by future Assemblies. The delegates did nothing for the futile northerly campaigns nor toward the capture of Fort

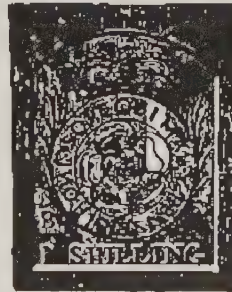
Duquesne, but after the latter was taken they voted a small sum to volunteers of the province who had taken part.

During this war, in 1755, five shiploads of the exiled Acadians were landed in Maryland, and as "Papists" and French were doubly unwelcome to the majority of the province and were ill treated by many of them; but the long-persecuted people of their own faith showed them the greatest kindness. Their afflictions were relieved by the purses of chivalrous citizens, who also pleaded their cause with the King and the Governor.

In the year 1763, when the conquest of Canada was ratified by the Treaty of Paris, Maryland was committed for ever to the boundary with Pennsylvania by the line run by two English mathematicians, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon.

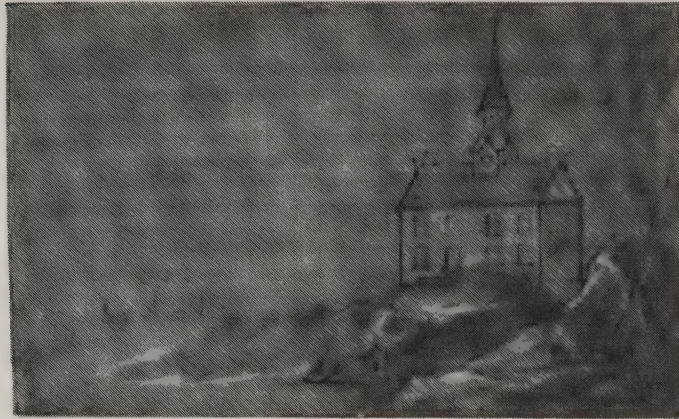
In Pontiac's war this province suffered its share of trial, and Sharpe, uniting with the other officers, did his part to quell the savages who swept down the western mountains, surprising traders and hunters, and driving the settlers' families by the hundreds to Cumberland and other forts.

If these colonists were slow to fight the King's wars, they were quick to combat his prerogative. On the first news of the Stamp Act the *Maryland Gazette*, the only newspaper in the province (founded in 1727), opened



THE BRITISH TAX
STAMP, 1765-66.

its columns to free discussion of the subject. The collector was forced to give up his office; his house was torn down and there was much of what dignified colonists called "vulgar demonstrations," burning effigies and mock funerals, besides a quiet resistance which prevented any stamps from being landed and allowed no delay in business for the want of them. The delegates declared that the Assembly of Mary-



OLD COURT-HOUSE (1768) AND POWDER MAGAZINE.
From an old Print in the Possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

land alone had the right to tax the inhabitants of that province. Both Houses and the Governor at once unanimously approved of the Massachusetts proposal for a general congress, and sent their delegates. Upon news of the repeal there was great rejoicing, many banquets, and "portentous quantities of punch quaffed"; but the Assembly said to Governor Sharpe: "Your Excellency may depend that whenever we apprehend the rights of the people to



THE BURNING OF THE "PEGGY STEWART."
From the Painting by Frank B. Mayer.

be affected we shall not fail boldly to assert, and steadily to endeavour to maintain them." In every measure they were in the van of the opposition to parliamentary taxation.

In 1769, Sharpe gave place to the last Governor, Sir Robert Eden, the husband of Lord Baltimore's younger sister, an amiable man who would not oppose the resistance into which he had stepped. After Eden had been here a year or so, in 1771, the disgraceful proprietor died, leaving no legitimate children and bequeathing Maryland to his natural son, Henry Harford, then a minor. Before the latter's suit in Chancery was settled, Maryland was in the control of her own people. They had no patience with the compromising provinces; they were ironical to Virginia, and refused to trade with Rhode Island vessels, but gave generously to the Bostonians when their port was closed in the spring of 1774. A few months later, led by the citizens of Baltimore, the inhabitants elected ninety-two delegates, who formed a convention in Annapolis on the 22d of June, appointed delegates to the General Congress of the colonies that met in Philadelphia in September, approved the measures then taken, and "pledged the province to resist to the utmost of its power any attempt to enforce the late obnoxious acts of Parliament against any one of the colonies." Committees of correspondence and of vigilance were formed; and in October a shining example was made of the owner of the brig *Peggy Stewart*, a signer of the Non-Importation Agreement, who paid the duty on a consignment of tea in order to land

the rest of his cargo. Even after public apologies and proffers of reparation, he was obliged to run the *Peggy* aground "and set her on fire as she stood, with all her sails and rigging, the crowd watching till she burned to the water's edge." In midsummer of 1775, a gentleman wrote to friends in England: "Government is now almost totally annihilated, and power transferred to the multitudes. Speeches become dangerous, letters are intercepted. The inhabitants of this Province are incorporated under military regulations, and apply the greater part of their time to the different branches of discipline."

In the spring of 1774, when Eden, by order of the ministry, summoned his Assembly, he was prohibited by the convention, and with assurance of the people's esteem under protection of the Council of Safety, he sailed for England.

In July, 1775, while the Second Congress was holding its first session at Philadelphia, the convention formally undertook the government of the province. Besides maintaining the local militia, it not only sent its quota to the Continental Army, but despatched to Boston two companies of expert riflemen in hunting-shirts and moccasins. After the Declaration, the provisional convention transferred the control of the province to the Council of Safety until the representatives chosen at the new election met on the 21st of March, 1777, and took up the government of a sovereign State.



CHAPTER VII

PENNSYLVANIA, EIGHTH COLONY—THE FRIENDS' GREATEST COLONY

THEIR PREDECESSORS

THE last of the group of Middle Colonies for which the Dutch first broke ground, giving it claim to eighth place among the Thirteen, became after nearly fifty years the great Friends' province of Pennsylvania. Although denied by rivals, it seems to be true that the Dutch built Fort Beversrede in 1633, on a large tract purchased by Arendt Corssen from the Indians, including the meeting place of several trails at the mouth of one of the Minquas' important streams, the Manaiung, which was so obscure from the South River that the Dutch called it Schuylkill, the hidden creek. Whether Beversrede ever was much of a settlement or not, the New Netherlanders had an enormous peltry trade there for about five years, till Peter Minuit's colony of Swedes took possession of another important creek of the Minquas in what is now Delaware. A few years later, about 1640, they planted another

town much nearer, which they called Upland and the English afterwards renamed Chester; and in a few more years the greatest of the Swedish governors, the masterful giant John Printz, made his headquarters for eight years on the island of Tenacong or Tinicum, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, compelling the Dutch to dip their flags and pay tribute, while no Englishmen were allowed within the bay. A few miles back in the woods, on what is now Cobb's Creek, he had the first grist mill in the region, "for grinding both fine and coarse flower . . . going early and late . . . near it a strong dwelling house built of hickory and inhabited by freemen."

The Governor's seat or military capital, Nya Göteborg, was on Tenacong, a curious sort of rocky, tree-planted island formed by the separation into two branches of what is now Darby Creek. There he had a fortress of hemlock logs, with a church, whose pastor was the erratic chronicler John Campanius Holm. The Governor had a "very handsome" dwelling, which he called Printzhof, built either on Tenacong or on the mainland nearby, called Kinsessing by the natives. There he also built a pleasure-house, laid out beautiful gardens, planted an orchard, and, as Mr. Fisher says, managed to live like a gentleman, certainly the first yachtsman on the Delaware. Thrilling tales were chronicled by Dutch and New England writers of the way in which he dealt with anyone who dared to meddle with the Schuylkill trade, or indeed to intrude in any way upon that region. The Swedish

records, however, give a different picture of the man whom the New Englanders describe as a ruffian, a man who "had neither Christian nor moral conscience."

One of the lively episodes belonging to this part of the story is connected with the appearance of a pinnace from Boston, whose master, it is said, was determined to find the source of the beaver supply, supposed to be at the lake of Lyconia. He discovered nothing but the power of a Dutch and a Swedish boat, which met him, to drive him out of the bay. Yet in the autumn of the same year, when another vessel from Boston was boarded by unfriendly Indians, Printz rescued the whole party and sent them safely to Newhaven.

Stormy scenes with the Dutch began after the new commissary, Andreas Hudde, took charge of Fort Nassau. The first conflict occurred when Hudde attempted to sustain a Dutch trading captain whom Printz had ordered to leave "the territory of the Queen." When Hudde opened what proved to be a vain and angry correspondence, Printz cornered him by asking for a precise definition of the Dutch territory, which could not be given, and then forced the captain to retreat by threatening to confiscate his ship and cargo. Soon after that, Director Kieft ordered Hudde to strengthen the Dutch claim by the purchase and colonisation of a tract of land on the South River above the Schuylkill. But before the settlers reached it, Hudde reported that Printz had not only set the Indians against him, but had sent

officers to tear down the Dutch arms, using "in an insolent and hostile manner these threatening words, 'that although it had been the colours of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted there, he would have thrown these too under his feet'; besides many bloody menaces." Printz protested in a formal letter against Hudde's "gross violence," demanding that he should "discontinue the injuries of which he had been guilty . . . without showing the least respect to Her Royal Majesty's magnificence, reputation, and highness." The record goes on to say that when Hudde sent an answer of extreme politeness, Printz treated the bearer very rudely, at length "taking a gun in his hand from the wall to shoot him, as he imagined." Later, Hudde wrote:

"John Printz leaves nothing untried to render us suspected, as well among the savages as among the Christians—yea, often is conniving when the subjects of the Dutch West India Company, as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised."

It is said by some writers that Hudde at this time built Fort Beversrede; but whatever its date, the Swedes prevented the Dutch from making use of it. They cut down the trees around it, including the fruit trees which Hudde had planted, put up another house directly in front of it, and met any attempts at building on the part of the Dutch with such "a sound drubbing" that their opposition subsided into a mere ripple of protests, and to a skilfully

conducted trade in guns and ammunition with the Indians. But they could not induce the natives to use their weapons against the Swedes. For the short time that New Netherland's affairs were at their lowest ebb, and those of New Swedeland at the flood, the centre of life on the South Bay and River was at the mouth of the Schuylkill. But, Mr. Keen says:

"In November, 1645, a grievous calamity befell the colony in the burning of New Gottenburg, which was set on fire by a gunner, who was tried and sentenced by Printz and subsequently sent to Sweden for punishment. 'The whole place was consumed,' says the Governor, 'in a single hour, nought being rescued but the dairy'; the loss to the Company amounting to 4,000 riksdaler. 'The people escaped, naked and destitute; but the winter immediately setting in with great severity, and the river and creeks freezing, they were cut off from the mainland' and barely avoided starvation; relief not arriving until March. Printz continued, however, to reside at Tinicum, and soon rebuilt a storehouse, to receive 'provisions and cargoes to be sold on behalf of the Company.' He also erected a church upon the island, 'decorating it,' says he, 'so far as our resources would permit after the Swedish fashion.' "

Everything went Printz's way until after New Netherland received for Director the hale old soldier Peter Stuyvesant, who increased Nassau's garrison and built Fort Casimir below Christina. Soon after that Printz went home. The more southerly places were the scenes of the events that followed in the

conquest of New Sweden in 1655 by the Dutch, and the decade of troubled changes. Then this region, excepting the thriving village of Upland, was an insignificant part of an insignificant colony, most of the time doing little but farming and a small smuggling trade under New Netherland, and during the year and a half under the city of Amsterdam. It was then that Englishmen first secured foothold on the Delaware, as they called it, and had their triumph at length when it was declared a part of Lieutenant Richard Nicolls's conquest of New Netherland in the name of the Duke of York.

The places were not too small to feel his Royal Highness's grasping levies and harsh measures to make everything English; nor to enjoy the year when intelligent Dutch control returned; nor to suffer more than ever when the Duke's government was set up again over the entire region, sometimes called the Delaware Colony, sometimes the Territories of New York. At Upland, a good many English Friends or Quakers settled. They made friends with Swedes and Dutch, buying from them provisions and cattle, making themselves welcome and attracting others of their persecuted sect from both Old and New England to lay out farms and build meeting-houses at Shackamaxon and at the falls of the Delaware, not far from the settlements begun in 1675 by the Friends' Colony of West Jersey. Altogether there were perhaps two thousand people here, many in the second and third generations of American birth, Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and English, in scattered farms and a baker's

dozen of small communities on tide-water streams, which, with the Indian trails, were their only highways. On what was afterwards the boundary between Delaware and Pennsylvania was New Finland; next above was Upland, and farther north in the stream-threaded region of highland and lowland now covered by Philadelphia and its suburbs were settlements which, at one time or another, bore the names of Nya Göteborg, changed by the Dutch into Kattenburg, Printzhof, or Chinsessingh (the Indians' name for land west of the Schuylkill), Wicaco, Nitaba Keuck, Nya Wasa, Straws Wijk, and Fackeland, besides Fort Korsholm (incorrectly called Gripsholm); while somewhat inland were Wasa, "the New Fort," and Printz's Mill. Both Dutch and Swedes seem to have been devoted to their pastors and churches. They were, as their proprietor afterwards wrote of them,

"a plain, strong, industrious people; yet have made no great progress in the culture or propagation of fruit trees: . . . but I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs in exchange for rum and such strong liquors. . . . I must needs commend their respect to authority and kindly behaviour to the English. They are proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full . . . some eight sons. And . . . I see few young men more sober and laborious."

We can probably never know just how these heterogeneous farmers and fur-traders finished their

half-century as an unimportant colony of a colony before they suddenly became the corner-stone of the great new province of William Penn.

PENN'S PROVINCE

Although a Court favourite, witty, agreeable, athletic, an Oxford man, for a time a soldier, and not too unworldly to be gratified by the addition to his already extensive estates in England and Ireland of millions of acres in America which would secure a great fortune to his children, William Penn was a Friend or Quaker, a staunch member of the despised sect founded by George Fox. For years he had been one of its missionaries, speaking in many countries besides his own, writing books and pamphlets, suffering imprisonment, running the risk of losing favour at Court; and more than once estranged from his father. They were reconciled, however, and shortly before the old Admiral's death he declared that he loved his son the more for having shown the courage of his convictions.

The project of founding a Friends' colony had been his dream even in his college days. In the midst of his gay comrades at Christ Church, Oxford, he had, so he said, "an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661," from a word dropped by a missionary of Fox's desire to establish a colony for the sect in the wooded mountains north of Maryland. This desire was increased by the success of the small company who a few years later secured Colonel Nicolls's "Navysink" patents for



WILLIAM PENN.
After the Portrait by West.

the first Friends' settlement in the world, before the Duke of York notified his Governor that he had sold and set off the province of New Jersey. In 1675, when that palatinate was divided, young Penn had acted as arbitrator between two of his Quaker brethren, John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, in a dispute over the latter's property in West Jersey, the first province founded and governed by Friends. Seven years later he was one of the association of Friends and Presbyterians who bought East Jersey from the Carteret family. In that same year he received in his own right the largest piece of America ever given to one person.

On March 4, 1681, Charles II. cancelled a debt of £16,000 to Sir William Penn, the Admiral who sixteen years before had won for the Duke of York a great victory over the Dutch fleet, by granting to the hero's son over forty thousand square miles on the west bank of the Delaware River, beyond a circle drawn at a radius of twelve miles from New Castle, between the fortieth and forty-third parallels and westward to the fifth degree of longitude. His Majesty called it Pennsylvania for the Admiral who had added to England's glory and allowed the Crown to owe him so royally. When the young proprietor feared it would be laid to his own vanity and suggested New Wales as his father's family were possibly Welsh, the King insisted, "No, I am godfather to the territory and will bestow its name." Penn drafted his own charter from that of Maryland, although the legal powers of the realm added a few clauses establishing the right of the British

Parliament to lay taxes and make laws, the necessity for the Privy Council's approbation to the acts of the colonial Legislature, the confinement of trade to English ports, subject to the King's customs-officers, and the colonists' appeal to England from their own courts. Beyond this, the King asked only the fanciful tribute of two beaver skins a year, and one fifth of the gold and silver mined. It was provided that the laws should be made with the consent of a majority of the colonists, except on emergency, when Penn could assume both civil and military control—something to be remembered in the history of his Quaker colonists.

Penn was then thirty-six years old, and till his death at more than twice that age, except for about two years, his power over his domain was absolute during all the changes in the realm; while the control of his wife and sons followed without break for almost a century, till the colonies became independent. Mr. Fisher says:

“ The creation by one man of such a huge, prosperous, and powerful empire, and its possession by himself and his children as a feudal barony for such a length of time, has, we believe, no parallel in the history of the world. Kings have possessed themselves of such domains, but never before a private citizen who scorned all titles.”

He advertised for colonists, especially Friends, to buy land at the rate of forty shillings the hundred acres, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling the hundred acres per annum for ever; also for tenants under the quit-rent alone. Small as the prices were, the

prospect of receiving them for a goodly portion of forty thousand square miles was a pleasant one. Answers poured in so fast that Penn's cousin, Captain William Markham, with three shiploads of industrious Friends, mostly from the north of England, landed at Upland about the 1st of July of that same year 1681. The "weaker ones" were taken into the hospitality of the village houses, while the hardy members of the company found shelter in rude huts, hollow trees, and caves dug in the high banks of the Delaware.

The good-will of the old settlers was won as much by the gentle newcomers, perhaps, as by the letter Penn sent by Captain Markham assuring them several times over in his prolix fashion that they should have laws of their own making and "whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness." The Indians, too, were assured of fair treatment and requested "to continue the favourable disposition they had always shown to the Swedes and Dutch on these shores."

As soon as possible Markham, Thomas Holme, Surveyor-General of the province, and others chose the highland beyond the mouth of the Schuylkill—a mile square between that stream and the Delaware—for the capital of the province; which Penn said should be called Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. But Markham soon notified Penn that he had made a mistake—the Baltimore family called it a wilful error—in the location of the fortieth parallel; that Upland, and even the site for Philadelphia,

were below that line, and that Baltimore was pressing his claim. This western shore of the bay was the threshold of Penn's domain; its several thousand industrious people, its one hundred and fifty mills, and its well-established and fortified posts might control the welfare of Pennsylvania either in peace or war. He knew that it never had been under Baltimore's government; that the Duke of York, his own special patron, had taken it from the Dutch, and that he regarded it as an unimportant "territory" of New York. Indeed, Penn merely had to ask in order to receive (in August, 1682) patents to the whole region as far as Cape Henlopen in fee simple, though without political rights.

Then Penn set sail with a hundred of his sect, chiefly from Sussex, landing at New Castle, the chief town of the territories, in October; to remain in his new possessions, it chanced, but a year and ten months. After asserting his ownership there, sanctioning the officers then serving, and planting a desire in the people to be united to the liberal government of his province, he moved on to greet the people at Upland—which he renamed Chester—as his own colonists, ignoring Markham's discovery as to the fortieth parallel. Soon afterward he went to see how Philadelphia was progressing. He said it was a situation which he had not seen surpassed in all the many parts of the world where he had been; and he urged on the building as fast as possible, to make good his possession, knowing that although the Duke of York had ignored the patents of Maryland, they had not been set aside by law. The



AN EARLY RESIDENT OF PITTSBURGH.
From a Statue by T. A. Mills in the Carnegie Museum.

streets, one hundred feet wide on parallel lines, crossing at right angles, were generously planted with trees; the rectangular plots (known to this day as squares) afforded each house an attractive garden, and made a town of such admirable proportions that it has served for the model city plan of America ever since. During his visit three hundred houses sprang up and several hundred farms were laid out round about. Everyone worked with a will under the eye of the handsome young proprietor. No doubt he made suggestions for the humblest as well as the finest homes, taking kindly interest in all, and probably settling many a difference offhand, among the three thousand people already there and the more than equal number of newcomers whom he saw arrive. He started their industries, and directed the commerce which employed some fifty sail in a single twelvemonth. On the Delaware bank, near what is now Bristol, he chose his country-seat, which he called Pennsbury, and began to lay out the grounds, which set an example for beautiful rural homes, soon followed by all the richer citizens of Philadelphia.

About six miles to the north, on the highland between the Delaware and Schuylkill, a settlement, called the German Town, was built by the pioneers of a German association, the Frankfort Company, which had bought twenty-five thousand acres from Penn. This was destined to be for one hundred years the German capital, so to speak, of America. Among the early settlers were the learned scholar Francis Daniel Pastorius, and many educated men

from Holland and France as well as from Germany, mostly Mennonites. They were an older sect than the Quakers, but because their beliefs were somewhat alike, the Friends encouraged and aided them with money to remove to Pennsylvania. They were a valuable addition to the colony because of their industry, piety, and intelligence, as well as for their gratitude to the Friends. The Mennonites were the forerunners of the great German immigrations of their own and countless other sects, not only to Pennsylvania, where in time they far outnumbered the Quakers, but to all the Middle and Southern colonies. They brought with them fellow-believers or kindred sects from France and Holland. Penn, whose mother was Dutch, offered them every possible inducement to come. The Duke of York's great province was still remembered as Dutch, and that name was commonly given by Englishmen to all races but their own in its cosmopolitan population; by an easy corruption of *Deutsch*, the Germans' name for themselves, they became the "Pennsylvania Dutch," to this day a distinct race, whose language is a curious admixture of German and English.

The Friends of Philadelphia, as well as the more highly educated founders of German Town, provided at once for their children's common-school education. In other colonies, schooling was only for boys, but Philadelphia was scarcely a year old when Enoch Flower opened a school in a dwelling made of pine and cedar planks, where he taught both girls and boys. His terms were: "To learn to read,



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE AT MERION.
From an old Print.

four shillings a quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding scholars, to wit: diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year." The value of money, we must remember, was five and some say even ten times more than in our day. Soon after Flower's school was opened, a printing-press was set up.

While the capital was building, Penn lived in Chester. At the Friends' meeting-house there in December, he laid before the representatives elected by the freemen of both province and territories a plan of government, which should "show men how free and happy they can be." At the outset it was ruled that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after but once; and that none fall from the matter to the person, and that superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopped by the Speaker." The result was, as Mr. Gay says, that "no four days of legislative work were ever more harmoniously spent in laying the foundations of society." By this constitution Penn, as Governor, was to act in conjunction with, and never without the consent of, a council afterwards limited to eighteen members, elected by the people; proposing all the laws, acting as the highest power in enforcing them, and looking after everything from setting up the courts and appointing justices of the peace, to laying out roads, and establishing public schools and prisons, which were to be workhouses or reformatories. The second branch of the government, called the General Assembly and also elected by the freemen, was to accept or reject but not originate the laws. Although

this last clause was a stumbling-block, the delegates soon voted this "Frame" or "Written Laws" as the first constitution of Pennsylvania. The next year, both branches meeting together in Philadelphia, they began business under this liberal but top-heavy government, which stood, to no one's satisfaction, for eighteen years. The Printed Laws, or Laws Agreed upon in England, were a comprehensive set of regulations for the establishment and growth of the colony, which, after many alterations, were accepted as the Great Law of the province. All foreigners then on the soil were naturalised, and an Act of Union annexed to Pennsylvania the "three lower counties on the Delaware."

First and foremost, freedom of worship was secured to "all persons acknowledging the one Eternal God, living peaceably and justly." But no man who did not believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world was either to vote or hold office. Pennsylvania was founded for the freedom of Christian worship. Freedom of conscience was still considered sin outside of Rhode Island. Beside being "believers," freemen or voters must be landholders or residents who paid "scot and lot to the government," while all newcomers who were not subjects of Great Britain must be naturalised by special vote of the Assembly. Great care and judgment were shown in establishing courts of law, and in them the word of any Christian was accepted without oath, owing to the Quakers' aversion to swearing under any circumstances. The life and the power of the proprietor were as sacred as Majesty. Treason and



murder were the only offences punished by death; although the law provided penalties for every form of crime and vice down to scolding and lies, even touching innocent amusement. Young men were compelled to marry, and everyone was obliged to wear only one kind of cloth for winter and another for summer. Among other departures from English law, such as were made by the New England Puritans half a century before, were regulations making marriage a civil contract and ignoring all rights of primogeniture. No poor rates or tithes were allowed and—to the joy of genealogists—provision was made immediately for the registry of births, marriages, deaths, and other local events. The government for half a century was controlled by Friends, although thousands of people from all parts of Europe settled in Philadelphia, German Town, and other villages, or spread out into the fertile valleys. Even after leading members of the Society ceased to fill most of the offices, they dominated the Assembly, as the old historian Gordon says, "by their firm attachment to liberal political principles, their courage in resisting, by invincible moral force, every encroachment on the rights of conscience; their justice and kindness to the aborigines, their unostentatious but efficient charities."

But as Mr. Fisher admits, the records of this achievement consist mostly "of what seem like very petty disputes, tiresome to investigate and equally tiresome to read."

The Society of Friends held their first Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in July, 1683. They soon

became the leaders of their sect in America, a firmly established body of deeply religious, sober-minded, plainly dressed people, who lived by the inward light, abhorred war and every sort of strife, believed not in caste, wore their hats before kings, swore not at all, retained the second person singular, long disused by other Englishmen, and called themselves Friends, yet still answered to the name fixed upon their forerunners in derision. In daily life the thoughts were not to be disturbed, even by raising the voice in speaking, certainly not by singing or any other form of music, nor by games of chance or skill, hunting, field sports, much less daring enterprises of business or government. Dancing parties, theatres, novels, and even poetry were proscribed. A plain education in the three R's was necessary for every child, boy or girl, but scholarship was dreaded as much as luxury or fashion in dress. The discipline of the Society was strict; not upon dogmas and ceremonies—the Friends had none of them—but on conduct. Every member was in duty bound to watch the others, and report anything amiss to their families and to the Meeting or congregation to which they belonged. All the families of a neighbourhood held Weekly Meeting, worshipping in silence, unless the Spirit moved one or another to speak. From this, delegates were sent to the Monthly Meeting of the district. That, in turn, sent delegates to the Quarterly Meeting of the whole country; and above that was the great Yearly Meeting. By a system of written questions and answers the conduct of all the members thus passed an



annual examination. Those who failed to live up to the standard were disciplined, and for grave offences, dismissed; yet powerful members of unquestionable devotion, such as Penn and many others, never wholly conformed. Usually one who married a person of another faith was put "out of Meeting" immediately, because the Society could not control the family unless both parents were members. While this went far in keeping the sect pure, it also kept down its numbers. It is said by Mr. Fisher, from whom these details are taken:

"The meetings never had a presiding officer, and a question was never put to vote. The clerk or secretary watched the discussion, and framed a resolution which seemed to him to be the sense of the meeting. If he failed to judge aright, the debate went on, he framed another, and so on, until debate ceased, showing that the sense of the meeting had been ascertained. That the result . . . was remarkable purity of morals and innocence of life it is impossible to deny, although it is easy to see a great deal in the regulations . . . that seems narrow, belittling, or impolitic. Many customs seem calculated to drive away able, spirited men and retain only the dull and commonplace. Yet it is astonishing how many remarkable men have been Quakers, and it is also curious to observe that most of them became remarkable by disregarding some of the most important regulations of the sect. In most countries they were very retired. But in Pennsylvania they were responsible for the political management of the country. Instead of avoiding politics as too exciting for religious contemplation, they took a very active part in them, and where

they found even their cardinal theories against oaths and against force incompatible with the welfare of the government, they let go the theories."

How much they were above the superstition of their time is shown by the fact that the records show only one case of witchcraft, a woman, who was found "guilty of having the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty in a manner and form as she stands indicted"; and on whom no judgment was pronounced.

The Pennsylvania Indians, Shawanese, and Lenni-Lenapés, afterwards called Delawares, have sometimes been described as so cowed by the Iroquois, who claimed them as vassals, that they welcomed the alliance of strangers; but Penn's writings show that they were not cordial at first; and long afterward, when the Pennsylvanians and the Six Nations abused them, they were enemies to be feared. Although Penn's treatment of them has been exaggerated and confused sufficiently to produce a reaction against him, the story of his fairness and courtesy should stand out clear in every history. He added two purchases to Markham's, and entered upon the famous treaty which has been commemorated by a monument as having taken place under the great elm at Sakimaxing or Shackamaxon, now Kensington in Philadelphia. As Mr. Fisher says, it has been "exalted and embellished by historians and painters," especially in the "pure fiction" on the canvas of Benjamin West. It was the usual promise that the savages' trade and their persons



were to be respected, "and complaints on either side were to be tried by a mixed jury of Indians and white men." Neither Penn nor his friends considered that he was doing anything sufficiently remarkable to be worthy of special record; but as ten, fifteen, twenty, and thirty years rolled by, and the Indians found every word of the treaty fulfilled by Mignon, as the Delawares called him, or Onas, as he was called by the Iroquois, the fame of the one white man and Christian who could keep his faith with the savage spread far and wide. In France and on the continent of Europe the great men and writers seized upon it as the most remarkable occurrence of the age. Voltaire was delighted. From that time he loved the Quakers and even thought of going to Pennsylvania to live among the people, who, he said, made the only treaty between the native Americans and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath and that was never broken.

The Moravians, whose faith was similar to that of the Quakers, did some good mission work among the Indians; but the pious Friends, who also laboured to develop the inward light, could never change the savage view that life was made up of friendship and hatred, other names for peace and war. Nevertheless, the fairness and gentleness of these peculiar white men toward one another and toward the natives made so great an impression that it has lasted to our own times. Mr. Fisher reminds us that President Grant believed that it would "be well to put our Indian affairs entirely in the

hands of the one sect for which the savages had no contempt." Besides meeting the Delawares and Shawanese, entertaining them, — and in some of their sports out-jumping them all, — Penn penetrated the wilderness to the Susquehanna Valley, making acquaintance with many tribes ranging the heart of the primeval forests. Like many others, he tried in vain to restrain the sale of liquor to them, and to dissuade them from using it. They could no more keep the scum of the earth from the frontier trading than they could stop the savages' thirst. Indeed, says old Gordon, " whilst they frankly confessed the injurious effect of it, and submitted to the punishment their drunken acts brought upon them, they would not on any account give it up." So they courted their own downfall in new forms of disease and death; and gradually yielded up their land, allowing the newcomers to make them presents and take care of them till the more robust nations called them " women."

Barely four years after Penn had received his charter, the province and territories of twenty-two townships held in all seventy-two thousand people, chiefly English, Irish, Welsh, and German, besides the earlier Swedes and Dutch; all enjoying civil and religious freedom. It was the most fortunate beginning of any colony in America. It had succeeded beyond its founder's most sanguine expectations; but the price of his satisfaction was £3000 sterling out of pocket, and further serious inroads on his private fortune by an unfaithful steward during his absence from England. While on this brief

visit he also travelled to New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, always as much to meet Friends and speak for them as to see the country and, perhaps, to be able, when he returned to England, to compliment the proprietors of the provinces. Twice he met Baltimore, but found his lordship inflexible about his boundaries; after a year or so, when the baron sailed for England to lay the matter before the King, Penn made haste to follow in August, 1684. The boundary was not settled for seventy years. Penn succeeded only in preventing the King from confirming Baltimore's rights upon the Delaware; and as the territories were never contented, he gained nothing by his return to England that could possibly compare with the loss of his presence in his fledgling colony, which, with all his popularity, he could not control three thousand miles away.

During the next ten years, when the population rose beyond one hundred and fifty thousand, Penn changed the government six times. For the first three or four years, the executive power was in the hands of the Council; their leader being the President, Thomas Lloyd, who during the entire decade was next to Markham, the Secretary, or perhaps before him, the strongest man in the colony. He was a native of Wales, and an Oxford man, who had left preferment in England for "mental felicity" and Quaker preaching in Pennsylvania. Gordon says "he was universally beloved as a bright example of integrity." But the course of his government did not run smoothly. Mr. Fisher says:

“As the Assembly had not been allowed to originate bills, they were determined to use to the utmost their power to reject them when originated by the Council. They took advantage of the slightest mistakes the Council made; . . . the beginning of a long contest by which the liberty of the province was developed. They worried the proprietorship by what seem very trifling disputes; but in fifty years the result was large. They had a great advantage in the custom of passing laws which should be in force only one year. At the end of the year, if the Council would not yield to their wishes, they would refuse to renew the laws, which was in effect to threaten to leave the colony without any laws at all. They produced a deadlock several times in this way, to the great annoyance of Penn.”

In 1685, when the death of Charles II. gave the throne to his openly Catholic brother, James II., to everyone's wonder his Majesty permitted great numbers of his richest Quaker victims to take refuge in the province of his favourite without making the slightest effort, apparently, to force that province to recant. They bought great tracts of land, and set up both their city and country homes and their industries on a large scale. The colony then begged Penn to return, and after a time he said he might consider it, “if my table, cellar, and stable may be provided for, with a barge and a yacht or sloop for the service of governor and government.” But the colonists in those days failed to show him common justice, to say nothing of generosity. They were scarcely willing to pay their quit-rents or the imposts they had voted him.

The Assembly neglected his requests for copies of their enactments; even his letters to the Council were unanswered. Nor were the people touched when he told them that such negligence made their constitution forfeit, and that merely through his forbearance it was not swept away to punish them. Penn's generosity was equal to bearing more than this, rather than suffer the wreck of his undertaking. Seeing that the eighteen Councillors were weakened by distributed responsibilities, he reduced their number to five, with Lloyd still at their head; and again after two years, when Lloyd withdrew, Penn acted upon his recommendation to appoint a single deputy-governor. But his choice fell on the most unlikely person to please the Quakers, Captain John Blackwell, a Puritan from New England, known to them only as having been a distinguished officer in Cromwell's army. Upon undertaking to collect the quit-rents, of which Penn was in desperate need, the good Captain was accused by both Council and Assembly of "arresting the improvement of the country and rendering every interest dependent on the proprietary." After a year or so he announced his release, saying, "I have given and do unfeignedly give God thanks for it." Patient still, Penn restored the authority of the Council, with Thomas Lloyd as president, but this arrangement was abandoned after a year and Lloyd was Deputy-Governor for a few months. This was in 1692, at the end of the decade in which the proprietor had changed the government six times, without once satisfying his colony; while the territories had practically seceded

and formed a government of their own under Markham.

A much more serious split was made in the Friends' Society by the expulsion of George Keith, a Scotchman, who had been an honoured member and teacher both here and in New Jersey, until certain conservative Friends declared that he had departed from the uniform tone of peace, good works, and salvation. Many upheld him, leaving the Society when he was expelled, declaring that he had the true Gospel and that his opponents were apostates, calling themselves the Christian Friends, and setting up their own meeting-houses. When the Yearly Meeting in London, after hearing both sides, condemned Keith and his following, he joined the Church of England, took orders, and returned to America as a missionary of his new faith, meeting with no little success. Bishop Burnet, who was a fellow-student with him at Aberdeen, says of him, "Keith was the most learned man ever in the Quaker sect, well versed both in the Oriental tongues and in philosophy and mathematics."

This was about the time the proprietor's patron, James II., was overthrown by William and Mary; and while Penn warned his people that their everlasting wars of words might draw upon them the unfavourable attention of the new King, who had a fancy for resuming proprietary charters, the blow that he feared fell. His Majesty stated no more than the truth when he announced that during Penn's absence his province had fallen into great disorder, that it had no sort of military defence, and

was not only in danger itself, but presented an opening for the French and their Indians to invade the adjacent colonies. So, while Penn's rights in the land were untouched, his government, like several others, was assumed by the Crown in October, 1691; although, more fortunate than the others, it was restored, after a year and ten months. This had "the appearance of dealing somewhat severely" with Penn and gave the recalcitrant colonists a taste of much-needed discipline under royal orders, administered by the wise and affable Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, whose widespread authority as Captain-General of half a dozen provinces was centred at New York. As Thomas Lloyd refused to serve under Fletcher, Markham was appointed Deputy-Captain-General, and the Assembly, after a futile attempt at resistance, settled down to their first experience in the great colonial barter system in which the Assembly's votes on governor's salary and aid for the Crown wars against the French of Canada were exchanged for the governor's sanction to measures desired by the people and not by the Crown.

Penn soon cleared himself before the Privy Council of all the clouds resting upon him as a friend and favourite of James II. Without giving up his faith, or apparently making any other concession than the promise of £350 from his colony toward fortifying the New York frontier, all his rights in Pennsylvania and the territories were restored to him. Again the colonists wanted him to return, but not enough to furnish the £10,000 he said he needed.

Unable to find anyone but Markham who was acceptable as his Deputy-Governor to both the province and the territories, Penn appointed him, with two assistants besides the Council and Assembly. There was a return of the old wrangling for the next four years. After Markham had exhausted his resources, the restless Quakers forced him to give them a complete new frame of government, including all the old privileges and allowing the Assembly to sit on their own adjournments, as well as to share with the Council the power to originate laws, and forbidding the Governor to perform any act touching the treasury or trade without the consent of a majority of the Council.

The dominion of war-aborring Friends over the small posts of the territories, as well as over Philadelphia with all the neighbouring creeks and caves, made the Delaware a favourite resort for privateers and pirates; and many said they were dens of vice. Hearing these complaints, and having eased his money troubles, in the latter part of 1699 Penn brought his family from the world revolving round "woefull London," intending to spend the rest of his days in Pennsylvania, though this too proved but a two years' visit. He made his Philadelphia home in the celebrated "slate roof house," where was born his second wife's first child, John,—"the American," as he was called,—for whom the colonists always had a peculiar attachment and respect. Nothing in colonial history has more pleasing colour than this second visit—Penn's sessions with Council and Assembly, his meetings with the

Indians, which gave them pleasure and lasting satisfaction, his travels on horseback into the interior of the province, to New York, and Maryland, his meetings with Friends everywhere, and his winning manners among all men, red and white, high and low. At Pennsbury Manor he lived with his family, it is said, in more luxury than any other colonial governor ever supported. When he chose he sent his barge down to the capital, twenty miles below, to bring the Council to confer and to dine with him. Impoverished as he had been by an unfaithful steward of the estates his father had left him in Ireland, the dissipations of his oldest son, William, and his great outlay on the colony, Penn had managed during the eighteen years since his first visit to spend some £5000 on Pennsbury, building a great brick mansion, wainscotted with English oak, and supplied with many guest chambers and a hall for the meetings of his Council or the entertainment of Indians. The living rooms were richly furnished in Turkey work, plushes, satins, and even carpets, which were enjoyed by few but princes in those days. The house was upon an estate beautified by a landscape-gardener from Europe, with parterres of imported plants and of the wild flowers of the country which were carefully cultivated. From its lawns and terraces paths led to beautiful vistas in the forest; an avenue of poplars ran down to the river; while in the rear were kitchen, wash-house, and other buildings used by the servants. There were a brew-house and "six vessels called cisterns for holding water or beer," besides cellars well

stocked with canary, claret, and sack, as well as the master's favourite madeira. Friend though he was, he felt that all this was due his father's son and the proprietor of the province; even when he ran in debt for it he believed that his position demanded the extravagance and that he balanced the account with generous charities and with a personal kindness. Among many pretty stories of his thoughtfulness is one of his picking up a strange barefoot child on the road and carrying her behind him on his horse to Meeting. His stable held twelve horses. There were blooded mares and stallions for the benefit of the province, saddle-horses for his wife and children, a great family coach and a calash. Moreover, he dressed with the elegance of the Court he had frequented in England, encouraged dancing, and outdoor sports with the Indians, and remembered that Charles II. had made him military commander as well as proprietor and governor of his colony. No doubt he set an example which many of the rich merchants of his province followed; for it was said in later years that the elegance of dress and entertainment in the province was equal to any in Europe.

But Penn with all this was a far-seeing colonial statesman. In that day, when charter liberties were falling under the hand of William III., he granted Philadelphia a city charter, dated October 25, 1701; and three days later gave the province a new constitution even more liberal than the first one. The latter was granted on the colonists' urgent demand. It was modelled on "Markham's Frame," and was

worked out after a year and a half of consultation with Council and Assembly. The proprietor was Governor, with or without a deputy; a Council, though not demanded by the constitution, was appointed by Penn and his heirs after him; and the people's Assembly was vested with all important powers, even to adjourn and meet as they saw fit and to control the judiciary. With all these liberties, and freedom of conscience more secure than ever, Pennsylvania prospered without change of government for seventy-five years, until the Revolution. Many bids were made for the satisfaction of the territories, while leave was granted them to withdraw if they wished to after three years—of which they promptly availed themselves, and set up their own legislature, never again uniting with that of the province, though they were always under the same governor.

There were many measures above the tone of the times, especially one giving the slaves the right to trial and civil judgment in place of the will of their masters. Thirteen years before, the Mennonites of German Town had petitioned the Quakers against holding slaves; they seem to have been the first Abolitionists in America. The Friends' Society discouraged the trade among the richest and most respectable colonists, and took upon themselves to help the blacks "whose masters were not yet convinced of the iniquity of it"; but it was not until a quarter of a century later that the Quakers began their most powerful opposition to slavery.

With the Indians the same courses were followed,

Penn still setting a shining example for good. He bought the Susquehanna Valley of the Six Nations through Governor Dongan, of New York; but when the local tribes, whom the Iroquois claimed as vassals, complained to Penn that their rights in the land had been ignored, he heard their story out, and while showing them the deed for his purchase, he offered to pay them a sort of indemnity and henceforth to hold the land in common with them. This fairness so won their regard that they gave him another deed confirming the sale, and attached themselves with complete devotion to him as long as he lived, and to his widow after him.

When the new constitution was adopted the Assembly might have chosen their own deputy-governor, but they declined the honour, and Penn appointed the admirable Andrew Hamilton, formerly Governor of both East and West Jersey. He was the first of the ten deputy-governors during the seventy-five years that Pennsylvania remained a British province, a line of men far from perfect, but equally far above the average of royal governors. For Provincial Secretary and Clerk of the Council Penn appointed the Scotch Quaker James Logan, who had come over with him, and who for over fifty years was the strongest man in the province. He was also Chief-Justice, and Penn's principal land and confidential agent. At Stenton, his country-seat, he collected a large library of the classics and important works on science and art in many languages, which he left at his death to the city of Philadelphia.

Penn and his family returned to England about

the time of Queen Anne's accession; and although his was one of the principal provinces aimed at in the efforts then afoot to induce her Majesty to make all the colonies more closely dependent on the Crown, she allowed her father's favourite to pay his homage at Court as usual and to guard the interests of his province and his sect. He even induced her Majesty to remove from Pennsylvania Colonel Quarry, her judge of the Admiralty, because in his zeal for the Church of England he had complained of the Quakers' anti-war methods, and even misrepresented Hamilton when he was raising a military company in Philadelphia—the first in the province.

Another prominent character on the colonial stage was the Welsh lawyer, David Lloyd, attorney-general and councillor, who in an hour of bitterness forgot the kindness that he and his family had received from Penn, and drew around him a "popular party," to thwart the proprietor, exercising so much influence in the Assembly and out of it that for nearly thirty years he had the name of helping to frame and giving a Welsh flavour to the laws. Poor Penn had bad luck with Welsh blood in those years. Young John Evans, whom he sent out in 1704 as his Deputy-Governor, on Hamilton's death, committed in his four years of office almost every public and private offence possible to a volatile, impetuous, haughty, dissipated boy of six-and-twenty on a sudden accession to power. What was worse, he had Penn's disreputable eldest son William to help him on. But none of these irritations can form any

excuse for the Assembly's selfishness and lack of intelligence. The best of their few acts of apparent benevolence proved a curse to the colony. This was the appointment of guardians of the poor, paid from funds furnished by bills of credit. Under it, the almshouse of Philadelphia became a powerful magnet, attracting to the city much of the crime engendered by slavery in other colonies, and all the poverty which had a shadow of legal claim to relief. The Quakers put off the payment of all their money obligations to Penn, though they had been freely undertaken; and black ingratitude seems not too hard a name for their refusal to make an effort to aid him when his embarrassments brought him within the Fleet prison, from which he released himself in 1708 by mortgaging the province.

Colonel Charles Gookin, "a soldier weary of war," of tactful manner, steady conduct, and economical habits, displaced Evans in 1709, to hold office for the next nine years. The records of the Assembly read like the chronicle of unreasonable children. They heaped up futile grievances against him, and repeatedly refused to raise for the attack on Quebec the quota of one hundred and fifty men and their officers requested by the Queen, saying that they could not in conscience provide money to hire men to kill each other; but they offered to make her Majesty a present of £500.

At length Penn wrote the Assembly a letter setting forth all he had done for the colonists and their own behaviour, and telling them that if, after a fair election, the Assembly were not more favourably

disposed, he would convey the jurisdiction to the Crown. That brought the people to their senses. From that time on, says Gordon, "the voice of complaint was hushed, whilst the manifold blessings they enjoyed were frankly acknowledged." Regular and competent revenues were maintained for years, arrears of taxes collected, public debts liquidated and paid; satisfactory courts were erected and the fees of the several officers fixed by law; and on the Queen's request for their quota they promptly raised £2000, as a token of their duty and an equivalent for their men, while compensation was paid to masters whose servants enlisted in the New Jersey forces. It was at this time that the Assembly distinguished Pennsylvania by a law for the abolition of slavery, which, to the colony's great regret, Anne annulled.

This Assembly stood for half, at most, of the population, representing only the Welsh, English, and rare Scotch Quakers, besides German and Dutch Mennonites and French Huguenots of German Town, with a few others who had been enfranchised. Thousands who did not wish to vote had come in with the great immigrations of Queen Anne's reign, some of them Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, some Germans, not only members of scores of small sects more or less similar to the Friends, but hundreds of the persecuted Lutheran and Reformed churches—"Queen Anne's Palatines," as they were called. Some had lingered in Philadelphia, opened shops, and hung out their German signs; more had tarried in German Town; but most of them had hurried to take up

the rich farm lands of the inland rivers, asking only to be let alone, and willingly leaving the Quakers to govern the province in their own way. Some of the most interesting of the detailed pictures which this general story must needs pass by are of these diverse and unique groups of Pennsylvania Dutch. This was well enough while Queen Anne's toleration allowed the Friends to govern in peace. But when George I. took up the sceptre of Great Britain, he promptly gave them a blow with it by extending to America the act disqualifying Quakers from giving evidence in any criminal case, serving on juries, or holding any place of profit in the government. It was an edict well adapted to produce consternation, and to make a trying scene for the Governor who gave the notice. But Gookin, whose temper had not worn well under his cares, made matters worse by declaring that his Majesty's order immediately repealed the law of the province, and disqualified the Quakers then in office. This ended in a general broil and Gookin's displacement.

In May, 1714, the province received the best deputy it had had in Sir William Keith, who governed for nine years. He was a Scotchman of excellent family and education, experienced in America as Crown Surveyor of the Customs of the Southern Provinces, and known in Pennsylvania as a friend of Logan. Mr. Fisher says,

"every circumstance marked him out as the man above all others for the post; he immediately became so popular that the Assembly gave him authority to establish the

things they most disliked the thought of,—a court of chancery and a militia. The colonists were very liberal to him in the matter of salary, and in Philadelphia as well as at his country-seat at Horsham he maintained a state equalled by no other deputy-governor before his time, and excelled only by Penn, the proprietor."

Poor Penn, meantime, was in his last illness. He had been goaded by poverty into offering his government for sale, but had not quite come to the point of accepting the Crown terms, which required that he should annul his constitution of 1702, on the plea that it gave the people so much power as to make the government scarcely worth the purchase. The matter still hung fire when Penn died, on July 30, 1718. He bequeathed Pennsylvania to his widow, her father Thomas Callowhill, and others, in trust for her children, after the payment of debts and some legacies to his first wife's children. The government of both Pennsylvania and Delaware was conveyed by the will to three earls in trust, for the purpose of completing the sale to the Crown; but they declined to do anything until the case was settled in Chancery, which was not until nine years later.

The profligate William, who was the heir-at-law, attempted several times to assume the rights of proprietary governor, without commanding any attention. He died about two years after his father, leaving a son, Springett, then a minor, as heir-at-law. At that time and for the rest of her life (fifteen years in all), the proprietary affairs were

managed by the founder's widow. Mr. Fisher aptly says: "Mrs. Penn became in effect the owner of both the land and the government as executrix and guardian of the children, probably the only instance in history of a woman occupying the feudal office of lord proprietor of such a great province."

Governor Keith helped Mrs. Penn's rule, and so increased her wealth by quit-rents and sales of land that she rapidly freed herself from the vast burden of Penn's mortgage on the province and other debts. Of all his measures the greatest perhaps was his urging, against much opposition, the issue of paper money. Immigration was then pouring in from almost all parts of Europe. Some of the newcomers were poor and oppressed people, the victims of political changes or religious intolerance, who bound themselves as servants for a few years in order to become citizens of a free country. Others were vagrants and felons; and although the Assembly imposed a duty of £5 upon every convicted felon brought into the province, the importer having to give security for his good behaviour for a year, they came in such great numbers that the colony was soon embarrassed by having more men than could find work, and more produce than could find a market. A number of other inconveniences followed, especially a scarcity of corn; for trade was confined to British ports, and payments were made mostly by exchange. Relief was felt at once from the issue of paper money, more sparingly done than in some of the colonies embarrassed by it. It proved so successful that, although it was "one of the

regulation subjects of dispute," it was issued continuously for the next fifty years, or during the rest of the life of the province, and was "always sound and of steady value for all purposes of trade."

Keith joined with the ablest men of the colony in well-judged measures for their industrial prosperity, guarding against the evils of over-production of their staples, and making stringent laws to increase home consumption of some products and export of others. Special attention was given to the making of flour, accompanied by severe inspection laws which established its standard of excellence. To this policy the province owed a great increase of population and wealth. A high standard was also set in the preparation of salted provisions, and a valuable trade in them built up in the West Indies.

In the full tide of his success, Keith saw fit to ignore the powers of the Council, which were customary and not constitutional; but he went a step too far when on some difference of opinion with James Logan, a tried and trusted officer of the Penn family, he not only turned him out of the Council, but also ousted him from his post as Secretary of the province. Logan went to England at once, and returned with a letter from Mrs. Penn demanding his reinstatement. Then Keith cut off his own head by turning to the Assembly to support his resistance. They had honoured him as they never honoured another governor by a vote of thanks for the successful measures which had raised Pennsylvania to its highest point of prosperity, and they now boldly stood up for him — but only until they

heard that Mrs. Penn had recalled him. Then they cooled off at once, and publicly disparaged him, to make their welcome to the new governor more cordial. Keith had some staunch friends, who sent him to the Assembly; but there he was accused of efforts to upset the proprietary government. After a couple of years he fled to England from his creditors, published a pamphlet on the colonies, and won the name of being the first to propose Crown taxation on them. He died a prisoner for debt in the Old Bailey.

The new Deputy-Governor, who came out at midsummer of 1726,—the first year of George II.'s reign, — was Patrick Gordon, a soldier then eighty-two years of age, "a discreet old man calmed by vicissitudes," whose happy administration of ten years was closed by his death. Within his first year or so the long suspense of the Chancery suit was settled. Penn's agreement to sell the province to the Crown was declared void, and the government and territory of Pennsylvania were acknowledged as the property of Springett Penn, to pass from him to his father's half-brothers. Since he was a minor, the widow, confirmed as executrix, retained her prudent control for the remaining four years of his life, surviving him long enough to see her own sons become proprietaries.

Gordon, to quote Mr. Fisher, said that he was "convinced by what he saw and heard that the paper money had been a benefit not only to the colony but also to England. The importations from England had greatly increased. More ships were

built; and the currency, instead of depreciating, as it had in the other colonies, had actually risen in value. Moreover, the colonists had helped the situation by establishing iron-furnaces and cultivating hemp, which enabled them to check the drain of their gold and silver to England."

In spite of these facts, the Privy Council opposed the Assembly's wish to issue more of the currency, and there was a famous wrangle before the Quakers had their way. Benjamin Franklin then first came upon the stage of Pennsylvania politics, advocating the issue in a pamphlet, "full of fallacies," but "absurdly praised" at the time, entitled *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*. Franklin was then twenty-three years old, educating himself, and drawing round him a set of thoughtful young men, while earning his living as foreman in a printing-shop. At about the same time, when Parliament attempted to confine the colonies' purchase of West India produce wholly to the English islands, the Assembly appointed Ferdinando John Paris their permanent agent in England. Hitherto the proprietor's interests only had been represented; and the colonists' laws had gone before the Crown and often been repealed without a word of explanation. The advantages of Paris's presence in England were so manifest that no complaints of the charge of maintaining him, which some declared burdensome, could induce the Assembly to do without him. This was on the eve of Mrs. Penn's death in 1733, when her surviving sons became proprietors and changed the old order of Friends' rule.



CHAPTER VIII

THE OLD ORDER CHANGES

THE decline of Quaker control, and of much of Penn's high-principled management, began at once under the proprietorship of his sons, John, "the American," Thomas, and Richard. The two elder brothers soon came to the province. John, the more popular and more generous of them, was obliged to return after a few months, for the same reason that had made his father cut short his first visit—trouble with Lord Baltimore over the Maryland boundary. Thomas remained for nine years, sitting in the Council; and, as Mr. Fisher says, in a narrow way taking an active interest in the affairs of the colony as the business man of the family; so that people called him the proprietor as if there were no others. His name was not loved; his deeds were not exalted; but we are reminded that—

"He was in the extraordinary position of having the rights and powers of a feudal lord hundreds of years after all the reasons for the feudal system had ceased to exist, and of having to exercise those rights in a new and



THOMAS PENN.

wild country . . . to control a rapidly increasing population of nearly half a million English, Scotch-Irish, and Germans, filled with the most advanced ideas of liberty and jealous of interference . . . to collect from the lands they occupied the purchase-money, rent, and interest of a great estate rapidly rolling up into millions of pounds of value. He had to arrange for treaties with the Indians and the purchase of their title to land, and to fight off the boundary disputes of Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, which threatened to reduce his domain to a . . . narrow strip of land containing neither Philadelphia nor Pittsburg."

Perhaps this work would have been easier if the family had spent the wealth which the province yielded them upon mansions and country-seats and the pleasures of the great in Pennsylvania; but Pennsylvania was a crude and lonely place for which to forsake the best that England afforded. The mother-country was the home of the family and there they spent their millions. Thomas, at Stoke Park, and his son John, at Pennsylvania Castle, maintained two of the most magnificent estates in the realm. Franklin estimated that the proprietary possessions were worth ten million pounds, and yielded over half a million a year. Although this estimate is greater than the extant accounts show, the yearly income may have been equal to two and a half millions of dollars in our own day, and the value of the whole estate to not less than fifty millions.

In the early days of Thomas Penn's proprietorship, while Gordon's peaceful administration still

continued, the first step was taken towards welding together the many sects and nationalities comprised within the province by an act of general naturalisation, admitting all Christians who owned allegiance to the British Crown and the Pennsylvania government. On the other hand, a poll-tax was laid upon all aliens imported, owing to the fact that a regular traffic had sprung up in the transportation of thousands, especially from Germany, who were wretchedly poor, diseased, and illiterate, and who, moreover, refused to send their children to school and were brutally indifferent to the rights both of colonists and Indians. Anxiety enough was caused by the more prosperous Germans, pious, industrious, regular in tax-paying, and faithful to the Quaker government as they were. German Town had become a powerful centre for all the Germans in America as a distinct race, keeping up their language, traditions, and customs. The large sect of Tunkers, corrupted into Dunkers, Dunkards, Tumplers, or Dumplers, the Pietists, and other religious societies that removed bodily to the province, joined the Mennonites in establishing German schools and a printing-press, from which was issued the first German Bible printed in this country, the first German newspaper, and an almanac of even more influence. These were published and the type, paper, ink, and binding made by Christopher Sauer, a Tunker elder, who also practised as a physician and sold medicines, and was a man of strong character and influence. It was no small matter that this race feeling should be cherished so carefully among a people

who far outnumbered the Quakers, and most of whom could not be induced even by the German Town leaders to educate their children in any language.

The Quakers then or soon afterwards were outnumbered by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians as well, who also kept to themselves and were as determined as the Germans to educate their children in nothing but industry, morals, and religion. These two races, holding aloof from the governing people, already formed the bulk of the population of Pennsylvania, which doubled its numbers every few years till the youngest of the provinces outstripped all the others but Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia, and was soon to leave its near southern neighbour behind. The evil of this was that no authority could control the flood of these people that surged into the forests, building cabins on the first land they fancied. The laws of the province were strict against violation of the Indians' rights, which had been many times confirmed by treaties and other agreements; but the authorities could not keep their purchases ahead of the newcomers; and the ordinary Scotch-Irish or German frontiersman considered it absurd, Mr. Fisher says,

“ that good, rich land which would support a family of white people and Christians should not be cleared and cultivated because a band of roving, drunken, dirty savages claimed it. . . . He went out on the land, believing that the government would be sensible and allow him to remain. . . . The government disliked

the expense and trouble," to say nothing of the unpopularity, attendant on "removing settlers and burning their cabins. . . . So the settlers generally remained, and the land was in time bought of the Indians."

But in one of the most important of these purchases from the angry Indians, Thomas Penn made the first break in his father's carefully forged chain of friendship with them. This was the famous Walking Purchase of 1737, which was supposed to be the confirmation of a deed given to the founder for a tract of land north-west of Wright Town, a few miles back from the Delaware and about parallel to it as far as a man could walk in a day and a half. The proprietors not only selected to do the walking the swiftest woodsmen that could be found; but had the ground surveyed, the trees marked, and a party on horseback ready with everything possible to speed the walk. Some Indians who went with them in the interests of their nation soon complained that the walkers were running and finally dropped out in disgust. The Lehigh River, which the Indians had expected would be the limit of the walk, was reached before the end of the first day; and when the time was up the next day, the walkers were thirty miles beyond it. Still worse, the boundary of this purchase, which was to have been drawn from the end of the walk directly to the Delaware, "was slanted upward for a long distance so as to include the whole of the valuable Minisink country," then commonly called the Forks of the Delaware, which the Pennsylvanians greatly coveted



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OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA. ERECTED IN 1735.

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and the Indians were unwilling to sell. As the red men "never forgot the kindness and justice of Penn, so they never forgot this treachery of his sons; and in a few years the mutilated bodies and scalps of hundreds of women and children . . . told the tale."

When Deputy-Governor Gordon died at the ripe age of ninety-one, the Assembly compelled the proprietors to allow the Court of Chancery, which Keith had established some twenty years before, to die with him. Lord Baltimore's claim to the government of Delaware kept the next deputy from taking office for two years, during which time there was a bloody settlers' quarrel near the boundary of Maryland. But at length this long dispute was compromised, and George Thomas, a rich planter of Antigua, began his eight years' term in 1738 by crossing the people's temper. His blundering was chiefly in his efforts to force the Quaker Assembly to vote aid to the King in the Spanish war, which broke out in 1739. The Assembly gave him a hint that the Governor was by charter military commander of the province, but it was necessary to have it driven home by the Duke of Newcastle before he would allow an officer of the regular army to recruit volunteers. Although only four hundred were requested, seven hundred were raised; but many were redemptioners, glad of the opportunity to escape for a time from their servitude; and fresh trouble was caused by the necessity of indemnifying the masters, while Thomas raised what funds he could for the war on the credit of the British government.

The Assembly did not hesitate to reprimand him severely when he overstepped bounds; and, to show that the fight sprang from a defence of their rights, not from parsimony, they voluntarily voted a generous sum to the Crown, saying that they wished to share the public burdens of their fellow-subjects in England. All the while their own commerce still suffered from the privateers that lay about the mouth of the bay, without so much as a cruiser to protect the interests of the province. Thomas, with a small following of Philadelphia fashionables, called the "gentlemen's party," entered the arena against the Quakers, who were loyally supported by the Germans in the "country party." They upheld the Assembly in allowing Thomas's salary to run behind, and in filling the air with charges of untruth, imposture, hypocrisy, tyranny, and faction, some of which found a lodgment in memorials to the proprietors and letters to high places across the sea. A crisis came in the Assembly election in 1742. The country party won an overwhelming victory. Thomas acknowledged it, and signed the bills which the Assembly wanted. Then they paid up his salary, and after that he and they pulled together.

At that time, five years after Thomas Penn had made the first great blunder in Indian affairs by the Walking Purchase, he added another to it. Unable himself to remove the defrauded Delawares from the Minisink, he appealed, with a large present, to their over-lords, the Six Nations, who forced them out at once, with many insults. "You know you are Wo-



213 SECOND STREET, PHILADELPHIA, SHOWING THE OLD COURT-HOUSE
ON THE LEFT.

men," they said, "and can no more sell Lands than Women . . . return to . . . where you came from." The Delawares moved to Wyoming, Shamokin, and more westerly places; but they left their love for the Pennsylvanians and their fear of the Iroquois behind them. The desire of revenge made them men, and formed them into a strong nation.

Two years later the French and their Indians were again afoot in the four years of fire and murder known as "King George's War." Then the Governor, acting on the hint the Assembly had given him five years before, made no demands, but opened his list for volunteers and politely accepted the Assembly's gift of £5000 to the Crown which equipped four companies for the luckless expedition against Canada. The Assembly would not consent to Thomas's proposition to try and draw the Indians into fighting for the province instead of against it; but gave large presents, all in vain, to keep the savages' friendship. For the New Englanders' expedition against Louisbourg, the Assembly voted £4000 "to be expended in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, and other grain." Franklin says that the last three words were inserted so that the Governor could buy gunpowder, which he did without insisting on more explicit powers. This was but one of many cases where the Friends covertly showed their sympathy with war. Franklin tells how certain Quaker members of a fire company absented themselves from a meeting at which they knew money was to be voted to aid the defences.

He said that nineteen out of every twenty Quakers were in favour of war. He himself, after an advance signal in a characteristic pamphlet, which he named *Plain Truth*, called a meeting of citizens, briefly laid before them plans for an association for defence, and circulated some papers which were signed at once by twelve hundred names, forming a body known as the Associators, the name of the Pennsylvania militia for many years. He was supported by Logan and other distinguished Quakers who believed in defending the province; and in a few days ten thousand volunteers were enrolled, armed and equipped by themselves, many from among the Quakers and many from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who now showed their first interest in the politics of the province where they had been living for twenty years. Franklin was then nearly forty years old, a shining example of a self-made American, not only with a prosperous business and a good record of public-spirited actions, but with an education which placed him among the most learned men of his time. The formation of the Associators so added to the confidence in him that he was entrusted with the people's most weighty and delicate missions during the rest of his life.

In the midst of the war, Thomas Penn resigned his jurisdiction, about the time of his popular brother John's death. The province felt the loss of both with deep regret.

In no colony was the middle of the eighteenth century marked by more changes than in Pennsylvania. The strict Quakers of the older days, grow-



THE FIRST CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.
Redrawn from an old Lithograph.

ing up with the country, active in its politics and still frugal amidst its increasing wealth, had insensibly become men of the world and of fortune, appreciating education, luxury, and amusement. They gradually threw over the discipline which forbade the spending of money for anything but necessities and charities, as well as the accepting of royal convoys for their merchant-ships during the wars or actively aiding in the defence of the province. The Society was still large, and contained a conservative element; but many members were of much the same mixture of piety and worldliness that had characterised William Penn. Many others were out of Meeting entirely, and had joined the once disdained English Church. The proprietors were now of this faith, and gave the best officers in the province to fellow-communicants. It was they mainly who supported a school for higher education, established through Franklin's efforts in 1749, and chartered a few years later by the proprietors and by the Assembly as the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. The Provost was the able Anglican clergyman, the Rev. William Smith, long a marked figure in the province. Another, the Rev. Richard Peters, was made Secretary upon the death of the great Scotch Quaker, Logan, while the bench of the Chief-Justice was filled by such men as Edward Shippen and Benjamin Chew. In earlier days, the small handful of Churchmen had been the enemies of the proprietary interest. Now they were its champions and its beneficiaries. The Quakers, after having controlled the entire govern-

ment for sixty years, found themselves confined to the Assembly; and for the next thirty years, as long as Pennsylvania remained a province, they held even that foothold with difficulty.

The Deputy-Governor, James Hamilton, was a son of the province, held in the highest esteem, not only for his ability and mild firmness but for his large property interests and his family connections, especially as the son of Andrew Hamilton, formerly Governor of this and neighbouring provinces, and for many years Speaker of the Assembly. He arrived in the fall of 1748 soon after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed; but as this truce was the scorn and derision of the enemy for the half-dozen years that it was supposed to stand, the frontier was ravaged by their Indians, while the Assembly would not defend it because the proprietors placed their governor under penal bond not to assent to any law for raising money unless he had powers in spending it. They saw that Thomas Penn would take advantage of their danger to force them to grant his deputy control of the money they must vote for self-protection. They refused "to part with the rights and liberties they had spent nearly a century in establishing." This was not all. Every vote to raise funds in the Assembly—and they were many and generous—must be disallowed by the Governor if the estates of the proprietors were included under the taxes. They talked as if they had nothing but wild land on which the Assembly intended to levy rates heavy enough to impoverish the whole family. Of course the Penns



held by far the largest amount of improved and valuable property in the province, to say nothing of their manors, sometimes containing as much as seventeen thousand acres of the best land, selected by their surveyors before the land office was opened, and retained after surrounding lands were sold and settled, till the value now averaged £300 the one hundred acres — a princely increase from the founder's valuation of forty shillings. There would have been justice in a considerable tax on the wild lands, which would yield in future much greater income than the millions the family were then receiving from Pennsylvania; for it was of them that the French were beginning to take fortified possession. There was a word more to be said. It was chiefly through Thomas Penn's greed for land that the ancient Indian friends of the colony were not its protectors instead of its invaders, and that the Iroquois had become so overbearing in their resentment of the ever-increasing flood of settlers on unpurchased territory that the entire Long House was almost ready to throw off its ancient allegiance to the English and join the French. Such a calamity would have defeated the English cause. When, to prevent it, Lord Holderness's convention of colonial delegates was held in Albany in the summer of 1754, the proprietor's representatives—including Richard's son John, who arrived in the province that year to fit himself for deputy-governor — seized this opportunity to obtain Indian title from the Susquehanna to about the present western boundary of Pennsylvania. Mr. Fisher says that they secured about

seven million acres for £750,—something like a penny for every thirty-nine acres,—and did so by deceiving the Indians with compass courses which they did not understand, and tricking them into granting a deed without the signatures of the tribes upon the land. This particular tract had been the home of the much-tried Shawanese and of the Ohio Indians, as well as the hunting-grounds of the Lenni-Lenapés, Nanticokes, and Tuteloës. When they learned of the grant, and were told that they must fall back among the stranger tribes to the westward, they went over in a body to the French, who promised to recover their land for them, and were soon shooting down the British regulars and tearing scalps from the heads of women and children in Pennsylvania. The alienation of the Indians was of course largely due to France, but also to Thomas Penn's Walking Purchase and Albany Treaty, together with the great influx of settlers.

Since early spring the French had been in possession of the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburgh now stands, and had begun to build Fort Duquesne. The news that they had routed Colonel George Washington at Great Meadows was received while the Albany Council was sitting. This last chapter of the war which the French in Canada had been waging against New England and New York for half a century was opened on Pennsylvania's frontier, though the whole region then was claimed also by Virginia. To the Pennsylvanians, it was doubly horrible not only as their first prolonged experience of Indian raids, but as the vengeance of personal

wrongs inflicted upon a gentle people who had been friends of the colony for over fifty years.

Hamilton resigned in this memorable year of 1754 because his instructions forced him to thwart the Assembly, when he could not decently forbear to help and sympathise with them. Five years later, he was returned with liberty to follow a milder if not a generous policy. During the interval, the worst time of the war, his post was occupied by "a change of devils," as Franklin said. The first of them was the courtly and well-educated Robert Hunter Morris, son of the honoured Lewis Morris of New York and New Jersey. In less than two years he gave the Pennsylvanians "more trouble than any other deputy" they had had. Yet, while resisting him, the Assembly aided Braddock's campaign in the spring of 1755. That confident commander found that he could not move a mile until Franklin on his personal credit procured waggons and pack-horses. This was not all. Braddock, who was usually sparing of praise, wrote to Franklin that his people, unlike those of the other colonies, had promised nothing and performed everything, doing more for the campaign than any other province. After the General's woeful defeat beyond the Monongahela, when scalping parties came within thirty miles of Philadelphia, the Assembly did their utmost to aid the panic-stricken frontiersmen. Still resisting Morris, "without jeopardising their rights," they raised thousands of pounds "by voluntary subscription, on the promise that the Assembly would reimburse the subscribers."

Before long they even passed their first military law, framed and made popular by Franklin, under which more than a thousand volunteers were kept upon the frontier. Franklin took over five hundred men upon a very successful campaign to the Lehigh Valley, and was strongly urged to lead an expedition against Fort Duquesne. The Assembly also built a chain of seventeen forts, covering more than two hundred miles in the neighbourhood of the principal mountain passes, adding to them from time to time, until within a few years there were about fifty. They also fitted out a frigate to defend the Delaware Bay and River. Morris's term came to an end in the midsummer of 1756, and the other "devil," William Denny, did not deserve the name long. He was feasted at the State House, and a large grant was voted to him, with the request that he would make known his instructions. When he did so the Assembly resolved that they were arbitrary, unjust, an infraction of their charter, and a violation of their rights as English subjects. Franklin was sent to England to lay the case before the Crown. Received at once among the most distinguished people of the realm, both he and his brilliant son William, afterwards Governor of New Jersey, had exceptional opportunities to make clear the utter unfairness of the proprietors' position. With patient and consummate ability, in high places and low, they showed that the proprietors, while likely to be made far richer than ever after the war, wished to be exempt from the taxes it involved, though both lords and commons at home were being taxed

to the extent of thousands of pounds to protect these same lands. The Franklins told how the Assembly, while resisting the proprietors' encroachments on their rights, had defended the frontier and aided his Majesty's forces as generously as any province in America. Upon Benjamin Franklin's personal pledge that the estates would not be unfairly taxed, the King supported the Assembly's demand. The tax was laid forthwith, and when it proved to be £566 on the entire Penn property, the proprietors' reasons for their conduct appeared so grossly selfish and absurd as to give a decided set-back to all their aggressions against the liberties which the province had received from their father.

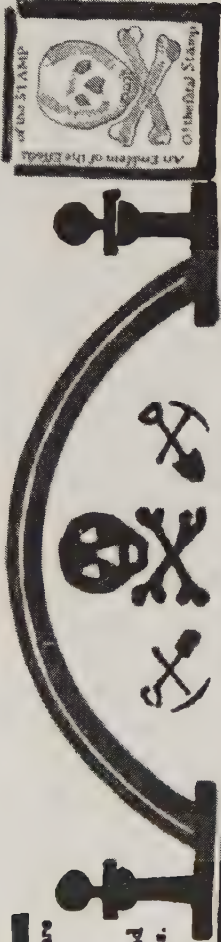
But the Assembly was not always in the right. It had many bitter controversies in these years, the most important with the College Provost, William Smith, in which the deputies behaved very ill. Mr. Smith took his appeal to England, obtaining the Privy Council's rebuke to the Assembly, and setting a sharper watch on their resistance to the King's prerogative. Deputy-Governor Denny endured their wrangling and went without his salary as long as he could; then, needing money and believing that he would be upheld by Franklin's success in England, he agreed to a bill taxing the Penn estates. The proprietors removed him "for sacrificing their interests to his own"; but replaced him by the mild and generous James Hamilton, who was left free to avoid more than a formal pretence to the control of the Assembly's outlay.

In the war, besides Colonel John Armstrong's

capture of the Indian town of Kittanning in September, 1756, and aid on the frontiers of both Maryland and Virginia, these people, it is said, "afforded more free recruits to the King's forces than any other colony." Besides a body of sailors for Commodore Spry's fleet, "men were raised for Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, for Halket's and Dunbar's, for the New York and Carolina Independent Companies, for Nova Scotia, and even for the West Indies." In the summer of 1757, in support of Pitt's vigorous management, they furnished over twenty-seven hundred men, with a bounty of £5 to every recruit, and voted £100,000 to repair roads and give other aid in General Forbes's campaign against Fort Duquesne. The march began at Carlisle, and the western portion of the colony was the scene of the events crowned by taking possession, November 25, 1758, of the long-coveted "fort at the forks," which was rebuilt and renamed Pittsburgh, to become the most magnificent among the many monuments raised to the great statesman. It became at once the centre of the operations for the capture of every French post as far as Lake Erie. Under its protection the devastated frontier was soon dotted with settlers' log huts and palisaded enclosures, even while the Assembly was sending fresh men and supplies to the northern campaigns.

In Pontiac's rebellion, which broke out soon after, the victory over the French was completed, though all of Pennsylvania west of Shippensburg was ravaged by the Indians, especially by secret enemies

The TIMES are
Quarantined
Distilled
Detrital
Deleas, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



Thursday, October 31, 1765.

NUMBER 1194.

THE PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIVE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The Stamp Act, is said to be obligatory upon us after the first of November, I must carnally Request every Individual, the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop awhile, under to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the infernal Slavery, which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must carnally Request every Individual

of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind Hands, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD

FAC-SIMILE HEADING OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL," OCTOBER 31, 1765.

among the professedly allied tribes, until Fort Lygonier and Fort Pitt were relieved by the idolised Colonel Bouquet.

During the remaining twelve years, the province was governed by the founder's grandson, John Penn. It was the longest administration in the list, and opened with such a sordid demand on behalf of his father, Richard Penn, and his uncle Thomas (for the taxation of their estates to be rated at the lowest valuation of the worst-tenanted lands) that Franklin was again sent to England in 1764 with a petition for the abolition of the proprietors' government. But soon after his arrival the Stamp Act and other plans for parliamentary taxation of the colonies turned all resistance in another direction. The Assembly allowed no stamps to be used, and closed public offices from November 1st until May, when news was received that the act would be repealed; yet it allowed no destruction of property and behaved in such an orderly fashion as to be commended by George III. The repeal was celebrated with un-Quakerlike festivities; but resistance reared its head at once against other taxation. The laws forbidding exportation of colonial products to foreign countries had been enforced but rarely for three quarters of a century, and the opposition to any such restraints was almost unanimous. Then began to appear in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* John Dickinson's "Letters from a Farmer," reasonable and eloquent essays on the colonists' rights, which were republished and read all over the country, arousing the people to

prompt and united action in their common defence. In a Boston town-meeting a letter of thanks was voted to the "patriotic, enlightened, and noble-spirited author." Pennsylvanians are said to have kept to the non-importation agreements except for one chest of tea. A mass-meeting in Philadelphia of nearly eight thousand persons voted aid and sympathy to Boston when the port was closed, and in favour of a Colonial Congress and a standing Committee of Correspondence. At the next Assembly the delegates were the pick of the province for public spirit, character, intelligence, and wealth. They appointed delegates to the Congress, but weighted their instructions on the rights of the colony with caution against disloyalty and offence to the Crown. The conservatism of the province, especially among the most powerful Quakers and Churchmen, that was shown while the Congress was sitting in Philadelphia, gave great umbrage to the small element of zealous patriots and to the more persecuted colonies. The Assembly, however, adopted the report of the First Congress and returned its delegates to the second. Meanwhile, Governor Penn was so careful not to aggravate this mild resistance that all old differences with the proprietors seemed to be dropped. Even when the ministry required him to protest against the colonists' proceedings, he did it so gently as almost to disobey. But he sided with the Tories when the Whigs were forced to come out boldly by the events in other colonies and the action of the Second Congress in 1776. On June 14th, the Assembly met for what was practically the last



CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA, WHEREIN MET THE FIRST
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774.

time, and released their delegates from the restrictions against voting for independence. Benjamin Franklin was one of the committee to draw up the Declaration; but while he and two others voted for it, two others voted against it, and two more were absent.

A convention for forming the new government of Pennsylvania met in Philadelphia on July 15th, elected Dr. Franklin president, and, assuming the political power of the State, returned to Congress the delegates who had voted for independence; and on September 28, 1776, adopted a new constitution.





CHAPTER IX

CONNECTICUT, NINTH COLONY — AN INLAND REPUBLIC

THE foundations of one more colony, making five in all, were laid by the Dutch in the establishment of the first trading station and the first planting of white men's crops, giving Connecticut ninth place among the Thirteen. When all the old records of the Dutch in North America have been fully investigated, this story may possibly begin a little earlier, immediately after those of New York and New Jersey. The Dutch West India Company's charter, issued in 1623, claimed as the north-eastern boundary of New Netherland this *Versche or Fresh Water*, discovered by *Adriaen Block* ten years before, and "known by the name of *Conighticute*," an Indian word for "long river." Some assert that a part of the first colony of *Walloons*, brought out that same year by *Captain Mey*, built a factory and settled there. Certainly Dutch shallops were soon on the river, buying one thousand beaver-skins a year from the *Pequots*, the over-lords of the whole region. In 1628, this warlike nation permitted a part

of the country on the Dutch side of the river to be occupied by the broken and disgraced nation of the Mohicans, driven from their ancient home on the Hudson by the Mohawks, and forced to accept this very uncertain refuge among other subordinate tribes.

The Mohican leader, "the slippery Uncas," became son-in-law and sagamore or under-chief to the great Pequot sachem Sassacus, but his people did not escape a heavy tribute. Nor did the Pequots' deadly enmity to the Mohawks keep their collectors from pursuing the Mohicans across the mountains. Uncas, feeling that he and his tribe were between the devil and the deep sea, bethought himself of an alliance with the white men. He had no hopes from the Dutch, for they were friends of the Mohawks, and he had already drawn them into one scrape to his sorrow. His trust was in the English at New Plymouth, and the much greater company of their brethren who had begun to settle about the Massachusetts Bay. He offered them yearly presents of corn and beaver-skins if they would remove to the Connecticut Valley, which, he said with truth, had a better climate and a more fertile soil than any place yet chosen by white men. He talked as if the valley were his to dispose of, saying nothing of Indian politics in the region. It was a wily and well-played trick to replenish the Mohicans' supplies of wampum, blankets, and hatchets by selling the Pequots' land, and, at the same stroke, securing against them the alliance of what was obviously going to be a powerful colony. Both New Plymouth and the

Massachusetts were caught. The Pilgrims, after trying in vain to form a partnership with the Bay, went several times to the river, "not without profit."

Meantime the Dutch had been obliged to keep close to their capital during the Mohawk and Mohican war; but, in 1632, Director Van Twiller planted the arms of the States-General on the west side of the river's mouth; and, in the next year Commissary Jacob Van Curler bought from the Pequots large tracts on the western bank up the river, including Suckiag, and both sides of the Little River, now in Hartford. On the southern bank of this stream he threw up earthworks, mounted two guns, and built a well-stockaded block-house and factory, which he named *Het Huys de Hoop*, the House of Hope, which the English commonly called Fort Good Hope. He planted the fields round about with grain for the garrison, and with fruit-trees, no doubt, as the Dutch always did. Soon he was carrying on a livelier peltry business than ever with the Pequots.

So strong is the influence of the chronicles of our worthy but aggressive English colonists that even recent American writers, apparently working with dispassionate judgment, usually dismiss this event as a futile sort of affront to the New England pioneers, scarcely worth the telling, except to show how bravely it was resented by the Pilgrims, whose western boundary was fixed at the "Narrogancett," and by men from Massachusetts who had no right to a foot of land three miles south of the Charles

River. The English tried for some twenty years to ruin Good Hope, declaring that the Dutch only set it up because they heard that the English wanted the valley, and justifying themselves by saying that the King — whom they defied in their government and under whose heavy displeasure they rested — had confided to them the task of "crowding out the Dutch."

The colonists of New Netherland, as we have seen, were under strict orders not to attack the subjects of any nation with whom the States-General were at peace. But they could turn a deaf ear to the Englishmen's remonstrances, which were many and loud; and when in October of that same year (1633), William Holmes of Plymouth appeared opposite the fort in a small vessel, the Dutch could threaten to fire on him. That was all they dared to do, and Holmes, the English chroniclers say, "went bravely on."

He had a number of Mohicans with him and some labouring men of the Old Colony. About six miles farther, on the Dutch side of the Connecticut, at the Tunxis (now Farmington) River, he bought a parcel of land from Uncas, set up a frame house which he had brought on his vessel, surrounded it with a palisade, began to break up some land for planting, and found time besides to trade with the Indians. After a year or so a body of Dutch soldiers appeared on the river; but, the English say, soon saw "that the nut was too hard to crack." It is hard to see, however, if sent for anything but a mere show of hostilities, how seventy trained soldiers

could have feared a dozen Pilgrim traders and labourers. That same year, Van Curler summarily avenged a murder at the fort by some Pequots,—it is not always stated that the victim was an English trader from Virginia,—and when the Pequots carried their wrath, real or pretended, to the Massachusetts Colony with a petulant offer to transfer to them all Indian title on the river, the offer was accepted and the Dutch purchases declared forfeit. But the Dutch held their ground, and lost neither their influence nor their trade with the Pequots.

By this time, in the Massachusetts Colony, Watertown, Newtown, and Dorchester had made the unpleasant discovery that their land and water were poor, and that the entire management of the colony was under the thumb of the Boston Church. In spite of opposition from the magistrates, they determined to emigrate as towns and congregations to the Connecticut Valley. In Newtown the project was favoured not only by John Haynes, about this time Governor of the colony, but by the minister, Thomas Hooker, who as a Christian pastor and preacher, as a statesman, or as a citizen, friend, and head of a family, stands among the most worthy in American history. He was called the soul of the exodus. In Watertown the "fever for removal" was heightened by the appearance of the venturesome trader, John Oldham, who after all his escapades had become a respectable citizen of this pious community. He had returned from "the Valley" by an overland route, probably an Indian trail, which showed that removals need not be made by

water. The Mohicans had worked upon him with presents of beaver; the country spoke for itself, with its varied and plentiful timber, its game, peltries, and meadows of wild hemp of better quality than the cultivated hemp of England. Indeed for beauty, climate, soil, water-power, and all other resources the Connecticut was the most desirable region that had yet come under his eye; and no man had seen more of New England. There is a tradition that he soon retraced the trail with a small party of his townsmen, who passed the winter of 1634 at Pequag, on the Dutch side of the river, giving the town of Wethersfield cause to plume itself on having been the first transplanted from the Bay. Certainly, says Mr. Alexander Johnston,* detached parties from this town settled there all through the warm weather following.

The same summer a group of men from Dorchester made what is called the beginning of Windsor, near the mouth of the Tunxis River and the Pilgrims' trading house. Holmes's men protested, and Governor Bradford denounced the encroachment; but the Dorchester men "shamelessly replied that the territory was the Lord's waste"; and the best they would do was to promise to pay the Plymouth owners if they gave up "their house with two parcels of land, making in all one sixteenth of the tract purchased from the Indians."

At the famous drawing in the Council for New England the same year, the Marquis of Hamilton received the "plot" between the Narragansett and the Connecticut and sixty miles inland. Apparently

* Connecticut.

this overlapped the country which, ignoring the Dutch claims, the Earl of Warwick had ceded some time before to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and their unknown "associates." To take possession of the claim before Hamilton could seize it, the Say and Sele patentees promptly sent over a company of soldier workmen with Lyon Gardiner, an expert engineer, and, as "Governor of the River Connecticut," John Winthrop, Jr., the charming gentleman, scholar, and statesman, who had already founded Ipswich in the Bay Colony, and was destined to be, perhaps, the greatest benefactor to the settlers of the Connecticut. They arrived at Boston in the early autumn of 1635, increasing the "fever for removal" by cordiality toward their prospective neighbours, and by Gardiner's promptness in fortifying the mouth of the river, on the Dutch side. He tore down the arms of the States-General and mounted two guns, just in time to train them on a Dutch vessel which Van Twiller had apparently sent for another show of hostilities, but which soon left Gardiner and his men in good spirits to build the fort and lay out a regular military plantation, with cabins and farms for the men and "a residence for gentlemen of quality who might come over." The place was named Saybrook, in honour of the two leading proprietors. Before the fort was finished, about sixty men, women, and children, mostly from Newtown, took the trail to the valley, driving their horses, cattle, and swine, while sending the bulk of their provisions and furniture by water. After about two weeks of "tedious and difficult



GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP.
From a steel Print.

journey through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough ground, the exodus reached the broad Connecticut in deep snow and tempestuous season," and were ferried across on rafts. On Van Curler's purchase they began to plant what was afterward the town of Hartford at Suckiag, directly opposite the House of Good Hope, on the north side of the mouth of the Little River. No news ever came from the boats with their provisions and furniture. While cold increased, food failed. Some of the people, desperate with hunger, undertook to return overland to Massachusetts, and were only saved from perishing by the Indians, while about seventy others went down to the mouth of the river, hoping to meet their stores. The few who clung to their huts at Suckiag have left scarcely a word of that winter, and nothing about the men at Fort Good Hope. If Van Curler's garrison had withdrawn, the English would probably have taken possession; and, before assuming that the Dutch, with their crops harvested, saw the intruders starve, we should remember that our records show fewer instances of Dutchmen's inhumanity than of Englishmen's silence concerning events that might be construed against their claims. At any rate the new-comers seem to have fought deadly cold and hunger with a little corn, a few finds of game and acorns, till the joyful spring scattered their hardships and brought their friends.

Then the other towns also finished their removal. The Massachusetts General Court, forced to consent to their going, issued a "Commission to Several Persons to govern the people at Connecticut for the

space of a year"; and the magistrates lent cannon and ammunition. The first "Corte" of Connecticut met at Suckiag, then called Newtown, to vote that no firearms should be sold to the Indians, and to lay down other regulations for the good order, settlement, and defence of the towns. During the year, a court of two magistrates from each town met at the three settlements in turn. The Indian politics, of which Uncas had said nothing, soon began to be so manifest that the settlers saw before them more serious trouble than had been known by any colony, except perhaps Virginia. The Mohicans and other tribes, who had sold land to the newcomers, retaining and living upon certain plots in each of the towns, were of course very obsequious to the Englishmen, but they were soon distrusted, while the Pequots showed that they considered them thieves and traitors and the white men intruders. Meantime, Oldham had been found dead in his vessel off Block Island, and the rash Endicott, sent with a party by the Massachusetts authorities to secure satisfaction from the supposed murderers, visited the Pequots on his accusing round, "burned and spoiled what we could light on," as one of the party said, and thereby set the Pequots swarming about the new plantations. Soon after midsummer, the towns were obliged to order all the men to arm and equip themselves, to train regularly, and keep a constant watch. This, in addition to the hardships of removal and provision against the coming winter, made the summer of 1636 one to be long remembered. The people could neither work in the fields,

nor hunt, nor go from place to place but at the peril of their lives. It was no uncommon thing to find the dead body of a venturesome settler hanging on some prominent tree by the river, showing the signs of horrible tortures and death. Saybrook then had many houses well placed for two miles about, and cattle grazing and labourers cultivating the ground or completing the defences. But, before winter set in, the Pequots had killed several of the men at their work, burned almost everything beyond the range of the guns, and actually beleaguered the fort. The crowning outrage seems to have been the capture of two young girls, who were rescued by the Dutch at the risk of their own peace with the Pequots.

That winter of 1636-37, the name of Newtown was changed to Hartford, probably from Hertford, near London, where the pastor, Mr. Samuel Stone, was born; and Watertown was rechristened Wethersfield, from the Sussex birthplace of John Talcott. Soon afterward Dorchester was called Windsor. By the end of the year, these English from Massachusetts Bay had founded the first American colony, which was not settled by direct immigration from Europe; the first colony planted by communities already organised; the first to start with town governments and from them to erect a colonial government; the first in North America deliberately selected with any knowledge of the climate, soil, and resources for livelihood; the first inland colony, and the first planted on territory thickly inhabited and bitterly disputed by natives. The movement is characterised by Mr. Doyle as one which proved

to be of chief importance in the unity of New England plantations, although at the outset it was a cause of discord and disruption between them, as it was the beginning of active hostilities with the Dutch, and of the first serious Indian war. Mr. Johnston says the break from Massachusetts "was governed by religious, as it was actuated by material, motives. To the Connecticut settler, religion was an essential part of daily life and politics, and logic was an essential part of religion. For nearly a century the same persons in each town discussed and decided ecclesiastical and civil affairs, acting as a town or a church meeting."

The leaders of the Newtown emigration made sure the establishment of the Church and of the town on the principles of separate liberty, which had been their chief motive for removal. Their pastor, Thomas Hooker, was the leader and the tribune of the valley as long as he lived, which, unhappily, was only ten years.

The fathers of this colony have left no chronicle of the appearance of men and things, but admirable business-like records of events. Their history unrolls a long list of births, marriages, and deaths, offences and punishments, of property transfers, and details of government whose leaders were unaware that their miniature state was destined to go far toward making a model for a new nation. But the story-teller finds it hard to think of them as strong young Englishmen, with their brave wives, loving and playing with the children that soon filled their small, bare log cabins, sharing one another's

too frequent bereavements, nursing the best or the worst in sickness, and lightening the labours of the afflicted; all of them sometimes impulsively doing what they ought not to do, and then in the most human way repenting and explaining their faults. Scholars and statesmen, as well as labourers, worked with their hands, women and children helping. Gardens and crops were planted, houses and barns built, and a tolerable harvest made. Defences were raised and roads begun, not only between the farms, but from town to town in case of danger; and this was done so thoroughly that Hartford, for instance, added but one highway in a century and a half. "The planters, many of them persons of figure who had lived in England in honour, affluence, and delicacy, were entire strangers to fatigue and danger,"—much more to the work of felling trees, building huts, or cultivating the soil. They had few oxen, and tools were scarce—no more, perhaps, than five ploughs in the whole settlement. It was slow work to make what they needed, and everything imported was dear. A pair of oxen cost forty pounds, a mare from England or Flanders thirty.

In the spring of 1637, Wethersfield, which always suffered for want of good management, is said to have violated a compact with Sequeen, an Indian sachem, from whom the settlers had bought their land with the agreement that he should remain among them. In resentment of his wrongs, he brought some Pequots upon the town, who killed a number of people, captured others, and did much

damage. As all the settlements taken together numbered only about eight hundred persons, and not more than one hundred and fifty of them, including the garrison at Saybrook, were fit for military duty, it was clear that they were likely to be wiped out at any hour. The Court complained of Endicott's expedition, and asked to have the war pushed; but hearing that Massachusetts had begun to dispute with Plymouth on the fine points of a joint attack, the endangered settlers decided to take matters into their own hands. Representatives met at Hartford on May 1, 1637, and within ten days the well-trained soldier, Captain John Mason of Windsor, led out the army of the infant colony in the most important Indian war of New England. He had forty-two men from Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Wethersfield; in all, more than half of the fathers and grown sons of the new plantations. The wives and daughters, nearly starving, did their best to fill the Court's order that one half the corn should be baked into biscuit for the soldiers "if by any means they came." The little army of ninety set forth on their desperate enterprise accompanied by Uncas and some seventy Mohicans, from whom the settlers feared treachery as much as they hoped for help. At Saybrook, Captain Underhill from Massachusetts joined them with twenty men, and Mason sent back the same number to help protect the towns.

The Pequots occupied the forests from the Connecticut eastward to what then was called the Pequot River, now the Thames. They had two fortified

villages, the principal one about four miles up the Pequot. Their scouts were posted along the Connecticut and the seashore to watch the colonists' movements; and, to throw them off the scent, Captain Mason persuaded his men, with the aid of Mr. Stone's all-night prayer, to disregard the orders of the General Court, and make a long circuit by way of Narragansett Bay, where, through Roger Williams's influence, they secured four hundred Narragansetts. After long overland marches they broke into the Pequot stronghold, under showers of arrows from behind the basket-work wigwams. There was nothing to do but set fire to the village, which was quickly destroyed with six or seven hundred of its people, Sassacus and half a dozen others escaping. Only two of the Englishmen were killed; sixteen who were wounded were carried by the Narragansetts through the forests to the vessels at the mouth of the Pequot River. Meantime the Pequots of the second village, when they saw the fire and its cause, rushed out upon the enemy; but Mason and his vigorous men kept them at bay till their wounded friends were safe, and then began a swift march to Saybrook. Gardiner received the victors with "many great guns"; Hartford welcomed them "with great triumph and rejoicing and praising God for his goodness." The General Court presented Mason with five hundred acres of land, and another tract was divided among the little army. The Pequots burned their other village. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, who obligingly sent his head to the English. Those who were left of this once

mighty nation, broken into small bands of terrified men, women, and children, hid themselves wherever they could, plotting their most horrible tortures for all English, Mohicans, and Narragansetts, till Mason with forty men, and a force from Massachusetts, took most of them in a swamp near Greenfield Hill, afterwards part of Fairfield; although nearly three hundred warriors escaped, giving their pursuers a long chase. Those who were not killed were compelled to join other nations, some choosing the Narragansetts, some the Mohicans, some the Long Island tribes. Others were sold into slavery in the colonies and the West Indies. The Pequot name was wiped out. The warlike powers of the Englishmen had so impressed the survivors and the other natives that their supremacy was not contested again for forty years. Connecticut sent men at once to the "Pequoitt Countrey to mayntaine ovr right y^e God by Conquest hath given us"; and they did maintain it, though the Massachusetts Colony demanded a share for its none too creditable part in the war. In a tripartite treaty, Miantonomo, the Narragansett, and Uncas, the Mohican, both agreed that the authorities of Connecticut should be their judges in any future disagreement.

By this train of events, the once insignificant Uncas became the foremost native in New England. This was so galling to Miantonomo that there was no peace between them nor security for the colonists until, in one of the few Indian pitched battles on record, Uncas took his rival prisoner, and, with the consent of the English, yielded to his brother

Wawequa the savage joy of killing him on the battlefield, which still bears the name of Sachems' Plain, near what is now Norwich. For the remaining years of his life, the position of Uncas as the great chief of New England was undisputed. He lorded it alike over his own race and the English as far as he dared, making the colonists pay for their land several times over, appease him with presents or renew treaties when he was out of humour, and defend him from his enemies at much trouble and expense. His successors played the same part. For more than a century they had their reservations in the several towns. They were allowed to live in their wigwams on the land they had sold, plant their crops, cut firewood, hunt and fish, and do almost anything they wished, all under the protection of the Englishmen's law. It was often said that "many of the adventurers expended more in making the settlements in Connecticut than all the lands and buildings were worth."

While the colony was still struggling with the Indians and with the wilderness for food and shelter, in the spring of 1638 Hooker framed the "foundations principles" of the government, which he expounded in his celebrated Constitution Sermon from the first chapter of Deuteronomy: "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." Therefore, he said, "the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's allowance, yet must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law

of God. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them."

Here is the definition of a democracy pure and simple. Such a government these enlightened Englishmen, born and reared in the reigns of the first Stuarts, established when they had been less than ten years out of England. In the dominion of their king, without a charter or patents, and upon the estates granted to lords and gentlemen, the planters framed their polity without reference to sovereign or proprietary, and laid their jurisdiction upon every foot of land that had been under tribute to the Pequots. A general assembly or popular convention was called of all the free planters of the three towns. By the adoption of this constitution on January 14, 1639, the Commonwealth of Connecticut was erected, by and for the inhabitants of the towns. Such men as the majority of their fellow townsmen admitted to be worthy to vote in town-meetings, became freemen of the commonwealth upon taking the oath of allegiance to the jurisdiction. Every spring they chose their governor, six magistrates, and four deputies from each town as representatives in the General Assembly. As the two bodies not only made the laws but administered them, they were called the General Court. The magistrates, called the Particular Court, says Trumbull, were vested with such discretionary powers as no modern court would venture to exercise. The governor was required to be a member of some regular church, must have

been a magistrate, and could not be elected two years in succession. The deputies, vested with the whole power of their towns, were to determine their own qualifications, elect their own officers, and, on occasion, hold a separate meeting. Whenever a tax was laid, the sum to be paid by each town was to be agreed upon by a committee in which all towns were represented equally. They could call any person, including magistrates, into question for misdemeanour, and deal with every matter concerning the good of the commonwealth except election of magistrates. In the absence of special laws, the rule of the word of God was to be followed. Neither the General Court nor the Assembly could be dismissed without the consent of the major part of the members. Trumbull well says that this was one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government which has ever been formed. The formation of it when the light of liberty was wholly darkened in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were so little understood in others, does great honour to the ability, integrity, and love to mankind of those who made it.

It existed without material alteration for nearly two hundred years, through the rapid growth of the settlements, their temporary union with the other Puritan colonies, the absorption of Newhaven, the acquisition, loss, and restoration of royal charter rights, rebellion against the king, the assumption of the powers of a State, and independence as part of the Federal Union. It is not only, as Mr. Fiske says, the first written constitution known to history

that created a government; it is the model of the present democratic representative government of the United States.

For twenty years the governor and deputy-governor usually changed places year after year. In that period John Haynes was Governor eight times and Deputy-Governor five times; while Edward Hopkins filled the first office seven times and the second six. To other posts many men were re-elected annually for a quarter and even half a century, nearly all dying in office, to be succeeded by their sons and grandsons. A deputy from one of the towns served in one hundred and sixteen successive semi-annual sessions of the General Court.

In manners and customs, the people were, of course, much like those of the other Independent colonies; their habits were those of good English families modified by their Puritanism and the exigencies of their new life. Their severity has been misrepresented through the fictitious "Blue Laws" described many years afterwards in a *History of Connecticut* by the Rev. Samuel Peters. One striking example, however, Mr. Johnston has taken from the colonists' own record: No person under twenty years of age, and no person of whatever age who was not accustomed to tobacco, might use it without a certificate from some reputable physician that it was good for him, and a license from the General Court: and anyone who had the habit and no certificate and license could only use it at least ten miles from any company and that not more than once a day upon a fine of six shillings for every offence.

In the year of the adoption of the constitution, 1639, a free school for boys was opened at Hartford. Then also some of the founders of Wethersfield, who did much toward making Connecticut the leader among colonising settlements, pushed much nearer to the Dutch, adding to the young commonwealth the towns of Stratford and Fairfield. At about the same time, the strictest of all the Puritan settlements, the colony of Newhaven (which existed as a separate, unchartered, and unsuccessful commonwealth for twenty-five years) planted between these seedlings and the parent stock the towns of Guilford, Branford, Newhaven, and Milford, to which they added a little later Stamford and Greenwich, still closer to New Netherland, and Southold on Long Island. These, and many other aggressions during their existence as a separate colony, before they fell under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, increased the trouble with the Dutch.

The men of Connecticut at once began to plead for some sort of union with New Plymouth and the Bay, for defence against the Dutch, Indians, and "other foreigners"; but it was not until May, 1643, that commissioners representing the four Independent governments signed the articles of the United Colonies of New England, the beginning of the forty years' league described in the story of Massachusetts. Connecticut then had about three thousand people, the same number as New Plymouth, and she grew steadily stronger during the next fifteen years of England's wholesome neglect under Puritan rule. Saybrook was in charge of George Fenwick, who

had come over "with his lady" and new settlers; but after a time he sold the entire Warwick patent to the Connecticut Colony, under a complicated agreement and assessment of duties, which were not all satisfied until after sixteen years. This purchase, and the duties on river traffic, led to a quarrel with Massachusetts lasting over seventy years, the Bay continually settling towns within the Warwick patent. Connecticut retaliated by extending her jurisdiction over some of the Massachusetts people on Long Island. This caused further trouble with the Dutch, which in turn spurred the river towns to create what was perhaps the best military organisation in the colonies. Train-bands were in every settlement, each choosing its own officers; while Saybrook, at the people's desire, was placed, like the military towns of Europe, under a commander—the popular "Captain" Mason, the head of the militia. "Fight the Dutch!" was the cry of the day; possibly aroused largely by the self-seeking Mohicans' cock-and-bull stories of what the Dutch and their Indians were plotting for the destruction of the English. New Netherland was then ruled by the resolute soldier, Stuyvesant. He gave the English aggressors as much trouble as possible, allowed his colonists to keep scores even if they could, and appealed to the States-General. His English neighbours believed that he would proceed to open war any day, and they were eager to anticipate him; but for the next eight years they were held back by Massachusetts. Even after news came that the mother countries were at war, Connecticut

and Newhaven, says the strongly-biassed Trumbull, "were not only obliged to put up with all former insults and damages from the Dutch, but after they had been at great expense . . . in fortifying and guarding . . . and had been worn down with anxiety, watching . . . they were still left to their fears . . . The General Courts considered the Massachusetts as having wilfully violated the articles of union."

Mutterings were heard that they had at heart their own interests in relation to the Dutch. The indignant colonies appointed an agent to represent their situation to the Lord Protector, "and solicit ships and men for the reduction" of New Netherland. Stamford of Newhaven, as a frontier town, was furnished with a guard. The Long Island English were "worn down with watching and guarding day and night." A frigate with forty men was fitted out to defend the coast against Dutchmen and to prevent Ninigrate, "who ever since the Pequot war had been the common pest of the colonies," from taking his men across the Sound. Several of the towns talked of rebellion against the Federation. Fairfield voted to raise troops and fight the Dutch on its own account; but the General Court interfered and bound over the "fomenters of insurrection" to keep the peace. Great was the rejoicing when orders were received from Parliament that the Dutch should be treated in all respects as the declared enemies of the Commonwealth of England. The General Court promptly sequestered all the Dutch property connected with the House of

Hope at Hartford; and, on news of the arrival of Cromwell's fleet at Boston in 1654, they offered to contribute one third of the fifteen hundred men asked of the four Federated Colonies. News of the peace put an end to these preparations: but the House of Hope property was not returned, and the old animosities went on for ten years longer.

The clash of arms in the old histories now gives place for a time to matters of religion, education, and to long obituaries of some of the founders. The honoured Governor Hopkins left part of his estate "to give some encouragement for the breeding up of hopeful youths in the way of learning . . . for the public service of the country in future times."

The colony was somewhat alarmed over the "Quaker invasion," and passed the rigid laws recommended by the Federal Commission, though never causing serious suffering under them. For a long time everything else seems to have paled beside the great religious controversy raised at first in Hartford by the new generation who did not "profess Christian experience," yet who had been baptised, and wished their children to be; who believed in the theology of the Congregational Church, but could not conform to the full terms of its rigid discipline. Mr. Stone of Hartford, one of the few founders then living, is said to have led the attack on the old Connecticut Independency and helped to make the breach through which the first Presbyterianism entered to mingle with New England Congregationalism. The brethren of his church took sides,

"were so inflamed, and had such prejudices and uncharitable feelings one toward another that it was with great difficulty they could be persuaded to walk together."

The matter spread throughout the colony, and was taken up first by the General Court, then by the ministers of Newhaven and Massachusetts, who mourned greatly over this strife, and tried to compose the differences through a general council of ministers, or synod, at Boston in 1657. This gathering made an elaborate answer to the twenty or more points which had entered into the controversy, in the Result, called the "Half Way Covenant." Then a public Thanksgiving was proclaimed; but several years passed before the contentions were quieted.

John Winthrop, "the younger," as men still called him, was Governor at this time. For him the bar to re-election was removed from the constitution in 1660; and he was chosen annually until his death, twenty years later, making the longest and most important administration in the history of the colony. The founder of Saybrook and New London was by this time about forty years old, known as a "trusted leader of men" and "perhaps the brightest ornament of New England Puritanism." When the colonists, after many years of expense and vexation, found themselves in possession of the Warwick patent and good Indian title, they entrusted him with the large sum of £500 and the delicate mission of seeking a royal charter from Charles II., lately

restored to the throne. Before hazarding this great request, they were careful to proclaim his Majesty and declare all the inhabitants his faithful subjects; and, although it was nine months after the corona-



THE JUDGES' CAVE.

tion, they were the first of the four Puritan governments to do so. If, meantime, they had sheltered the Regicides Whalley and Goffe, they made haste, as soon as the fugitives were beyond their jurisdiction, to overwhelm the royal commissioners with warrants, letters of authority, and proclamations.

For sixteen years they must have greatly desired a charter; but they had neither acknowledged the Commonwealth by a request, nor admitted this defect in their political position by the slightest record of their wishes. Now, they sent a draft of the coveted instrument, and set forth their case, neglecting nothing that furnished grounds for their claim. They recalled the hardships the founders had endured, the settlements they had made, their trade, and every "improvement," their irreproachable government, the purchases and conquest, which entitled them to all the Pequots' country, including that occupied by the weak, severely Puritanical and unauthorised colony of Newhaven. They appealed to Lord Say and Sele, who was in high favour for the part he had taken in the Restoration, and to all other friends in England who might be of service, while in Winthrop they sent a man to whom his birth and personality opened all doors. There is a story that his audience of the king was gained by the presentation of a ring which had been given to his grandfather by "the murdered and sainted Charles I." At any rate, within a year—over which it would be delightful to linger—the charter was won.





CHAPTER X

THE CHARTERED CONGREGATIONALIST COMMON-WEALTH

ON April 20, 1662, the royal seals were fixed upon the letters patent to "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut, in New England in America," chartering for an existence which lasted one hundred and twelve years the ideal Congregationalist Commonwealth. It constituted them, under their own system of self-government, a body politic, with all the powers of an English corporation and the rights of subjects living in England. The territory granted was "all that part of our dominions in New England in America," bounded on the north by the line of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the east by the "Narrogancett River, commonly called Narrogancett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea," and "from the said Narrogancett Bay on the east to the South Sea on the west part; with the islands thereunto adjoining." That this gave Connecticut all of New Netherland to the South or Delaware Bay was not to prove of so much import-

ance, as the fact that the charter covered Newhaven. The legislative body henceforth known as the General Assembly was scarcely altered. It consisted of the governor, deputy-governor, twelve assistants and two deputies from every town or city. "No more democratic charter was ever given by a king." Over the acts of the Assembly "there was no power of revisal reserved either to the king or to his courts of justice, nor was there any obligation imposed to give an account of their transactions to any authority on earth."

The one great change was that the right to vote was granted to every man who could produce a certificate from a majority vote in his town that he was a person "of a civil, peaceable, and honest conversation," twenty-one years old or more, and taxed in the lists for an estate of at least £200.

Governor Winthrop and most of the men then in office were re-elected; three tried and trusted men were made custodians of the precious instrument under oath of fidelity to the freemen, to whom it belonged. For the next two generations, except on boundary quarrels, the very scantiness of the records bears eloquent testimony to the people's happiness. The government proceeded at once to reclaim, not always without interest, the country under its patents, "casting the skirts of its liberties" over settlements desiring them from West Chester and Long Island on the one side to territory long disputed by Rhode Island and Massachusetts on the other. Howls of indignation went up to the commissioners of the New England Federation from

every one of the new commonwealth's neighbours. Connecticut was almost unassailable, however. It was willing to compromise to a small extent if thereby it could make friends of enemies; but it was also able to fight to the bitter end; weak it never was. For two years tedious, somewhat high-handed, and most bitterly resented measures were used to bring Newhaven under the jurisdiction; but it was done at length in December, 1664. Nearly all the ablest men of the small colony were retained for the highest offices, though it was the conversion of a wholly ecclesiastical government into a pure democracy.

Connecticut soon found that the Merry Monarch had given them nothing exclusive in charter encroachments. On the west their pretensions to the South Bay were cut off by the King's grant of New Netherland to his brother the Duke of York—a loss which was not without its compensations, for the most resentful of the Newhaven people had the sense to prefer the government of Connecticut to the Duke's promises. On the east it was still more galling to have their boundary pushed back from "where the Narrogancett falleth into the sea" to their own side of the Pawcatuck River, by the King's grant, with a more liberal charter than their own, to the "fanatical rogues" of Rhode Island. In spite of all their claims to be loyal subjects, the Connecticut settlers contested this royal act for sixty years, and quarrelled with their neighbours over the land known as the Atherton grants, which the royal commission first laid off as the "King's Pro-

vince," and placed under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island.

The commission had plenty of other boundary questions to settle for Connecticut. One was upon the claims of the Duke of Hamilton, who had asked the King for a tract within the Connecticut patents which had been drawn by his father on the dissolution of the New England Council in 1635. The commissioners were human. When the Connecticut Assembly greeted them with much cordiality, and presented them with five hundred bushels of corn, they had little difficulty in perceiving that the settlers of "the Valley" had not only purchased the plot from the Duke's father, but had wrested it, with the whole country, from the savage wilderness, while the Hamiltons had never made good their claim by a single settlement. The commissioners, in presenting these arguments to the King, mentioned their cordial reception in the colony, and handed in the Assembly's gracefully worded letter of gratitude for their services. This placed Connecticut in such a favourable light by contrast with Massachusetts that the King denied the Duke of Hamilton's appeal, and wrote to the colony of his "praise and approbation" of their "carriages."

Amid all their pressing considerations, the people here still devoted much time to the great questions of church membership, and resolutions were passed that the churches of the colony should adopt the platform of the synod. Connecticut was from this time nominally on the most liberal footing yet taken by the sects that had in half a century grown out

of dissent from the Church of England; yet for years, says Trumbull,

"the churches continued nearly in the same situation in which they had been from the beginning. . . . Elders and churches were exceedingly strict, with respect to those whom they ordained; examining them not only in the three learned languages and doctrinal points of theology, but with respect to their own heart religion. Also no church could be formed nor any minister ordained without liberty from the General Court, and the approbation of the neighbouring elders and churches."

The laws of the colony had always been kept in manuscript and had been circulated by copies distributed and read publicly in the towns. In 1672, they were printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts—a small folio with a "preface sufficiently solemn and religious for an introduction to a body of sermons," and some seventy printed pages, leaving about an equal number blank, upon which were written all the laws enacted from that time until the last year of the century, when the book was full. The Assembly ordered that every family should have a copy of this book, which was the basis of the "codes" of several other colonies.

There was much excitement here during the fourteen months of the second rule of the Dutch. After New Netherland was reconquered in 1672, Connecticut's ever ready "skirts" of government were cast over the English towns on Long Island; and when the Duke's authority was restored, they still desired this protection. So also did the towns of the dis-

puted Atherton grants; and Connecticut quickly responded, that the people "might not live in dissolute practices, to the dishonour of God, of the King and nation, and to the scandalising of the very heathens." But the King for his province, and the Duke of York for his, did not encourage the flaunting of these "skirts." The Duke took out new patents for the whole of the Dutch claim to the Connecticut River, ordering his obedient tool, Edmund Andros, to take possession. In the early summer of 1675, he arrived in his armed vessels before Saybrook fort, curtly demanding surrender. The King's flag was hoisted and prompt refusal made by Captain Thomas Bull, who arrived with his company in the nick of time. Hardly daring to fire on the royal colours or to spill blood, Andros lay there the best part of two days before he was allowed to land. Then, every time he tried to read the Duke's patent, Bull interrupted. At length he gave it up, returned to his boat, escorted by the town militia, and headed his fleet for Long Island Sound. The Assembly complained to his Majesty, and the attempt was never repeated.

It was about this time that the Connecticut leaders determined to arrest the growing feeling of independence on the part of the churches. The Legislature convoked a synod of clergymen and lay delegates of the churches in the several counties, who met at Saybrook in September, 1680, and arranged what is called the Saybrook Platform, providing for the Consociation of the churches of a county in "councils," and a general Association of

representatives of all the churches in the colony at the time of the civil election. This plan was forwarded by the Governor with all his great influence, and became law in the October General Court; with provision of liberty for those who should "soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established." Palfrey says, "These consociations, whose organisations have continued to the present day, gave no little additional power to the clergy, and a severer religion began to prevail in Connecticut than in Massachusetts." Laws for the observance of the Sabbath or Lord's Day became very strict.

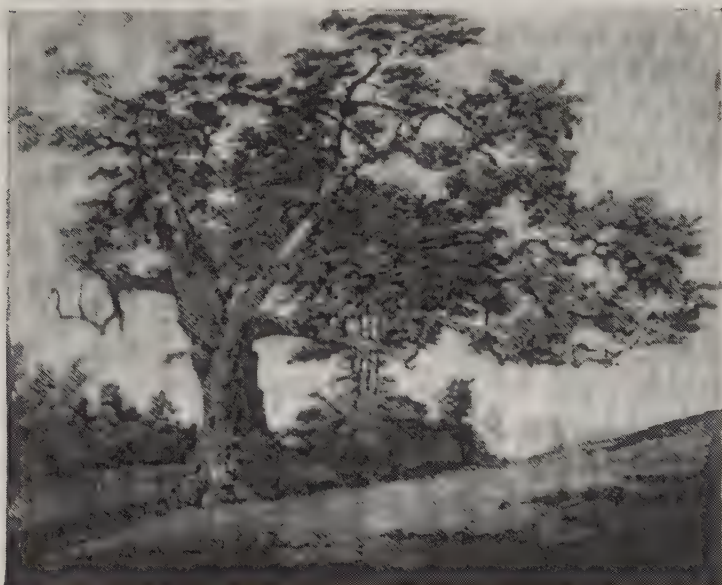
Just before this important religious event, King Philip forced on New England the fearful war known by his name. Although Connecticut was not directly attacked, many volunteers and one seventh of the militia were in constant service, few losing their lives except in the capture of the Narragansetts' fort.

During this time Charles II. died, and also Governor Winthrop, whose office was filled for the next fifteen years or so by Major-General Treat. The democracy had never been so ready with its homage as on the accession of James II., whom the colonists regarded less as their king, perhaps, than as the proprietor of the great neighbouring province of New York. But their loyal addresses had scarcely been presented to the Privy Council before that body received Edward Randolph's articles of high misdemeanour against their "too liberal" charter. They were charged with having made laws contrary

to those of England, imposed illegal fines upon the inhabitants, enforced an oath of fidelity to their charter, neglecting the oaths of supremacy and allegiance — with having forbidden the worship of the Church of England, denied justice in the courts, and discouraged and excluded from the government all gentlemen of known loyalty, keeping it in the hands of the Independent party. In the next spring, soon after the charters of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were vacated and the provisional government of New England was set up under Joseph Dudley, Randolph sent word to the Connecticut Colony that writs of *quo warranto* had been issued against them also, and the time for them to appear in defence had expired by reason of the length of his voyage. He said: "His Majesty intends to bring all New England under one government; and nothing is now remaining on your part but resignation of your charter. I expect not that you trouble me to enter your colony as a herald to announce war." He advised them not to be "such a scarecrow as to affright men out of their estates and liberties rather than to submit to be happy. . . . Sirs, bless not yourselves with vain expectations of advantage, and spinning out of time by my delay. I will engage, though the weather be warm, the writs will keep sound and good as when first landed."

The Assembly made him no answer, but besought the King's discontinuance of the proceedings, taking great care to appear dutiful, but engaging an agent in England to work for them. By their masterly delays and successive accidents, the legal

proceedings were never brought to an issue, although in due time Sir Edmund Andros descended upon them as Governor-General of New England, attended by a showy company of some sixty gentlemen and grenadiers. At Wethersfield, where he crossed the ferry, he was met by a troop of horse,



THE CHARTER OAK.

which escorted him to Hartford, where, says a friendly report, the train-bands of divers towns united to pay him their respects, the Governor and Assistants greeted and caressed him; and there was "some treaty between his Excellency and them that evening." When he attended the General Assembly to make his demand for the charter, Governor

Treat and others kept the matter in suspense by courteous expostulations, says old Trumbull,

"until the evening, when the charter [in fact a copy] was brought in and laid upon the table where the Assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Hon. Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted ; but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it or the person who conveyed it away."

That is the tradition. The record reads:

"His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain-General and Governor of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion in New England, by order from his Majesty James the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of this colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonies under his Excellency's government.—
FINIS."

Palfrey quotes an elaborate account of how in the presence of the entire Court and throngs of people, the magistrates conducted his Excellency into the Court Chamber, and the Governor led him to his own seat, where he assumed the government, nam-

ing some of the former leaders to his Council. Then he retired to his onerous duties in Boston and elsewhere, and the Connecticut people suffered for nineteen months, till suddenly, in April, 1689, "the amazing news did soon fly like lightning" of England's rebellion against James II. and Boston's outbreak against his Governor. Thereupon, by some general understanding, a number of delegates from the principal towns and other leading men, with wonderful swiftness and smoothness restored the entire government, ordained a day of fasting, and then adjourned to meet again in June and proclaim the accession of William and Mary. A day of thanksgiving was then appointed, and an address sent congratulating the new sovereigns, making a brief statement of the recent proceedings—dwelling on the point that they had not surrendered their charter, and praying for its ratification, which their Majesties granted.

The five years' reign of William and Mary and the eight years that William III. was alone on the throne were remarkable in America for what they did not impose upon Connecticut and Rhode Island. While shearing all the other colonies of more or less of their powers, he even allowed these two commonwealths to choose their own judges annually, although, as Bancroft says, "the Crown by reserving to itself the right of appeal, had a method of interfering in the internal concerns."

During the King's war the colony was not invaded, but, in aid to those that were, the towns not only required military service of every able-bodied



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, HARTFORD.
Now the City Hall.

man, but a substitute from every aged or infirm man rated at more than £50 in the list. Trumbull says that they probably spent £12,000 on this war, and that the whole amount of taxes was about twenty pence on the pound. There was much righteous indignation over the King's commission to Governor Fletcher of New York to take charge of their militia. The tradition is that when Fletcher came into Hartford and called out the train-bands to hear the reading of his commission, Captain Wadsworth—he who had hidden the charter—silenced his Excellency's reading with the beating of drums and threatened if he were interrupted to "make the sun shine through" him. Wadsworth "spoke with such energy in his voice and meaning in his countenance that no further attempts were made to read or enlist men." It was afterward admitted by the King in Council that Connecticut by charter rights controlled her own militia, although his Majesty requested that one hundred and twenty men should be placed under Fletcher during the war. Fletcher took his revenge:

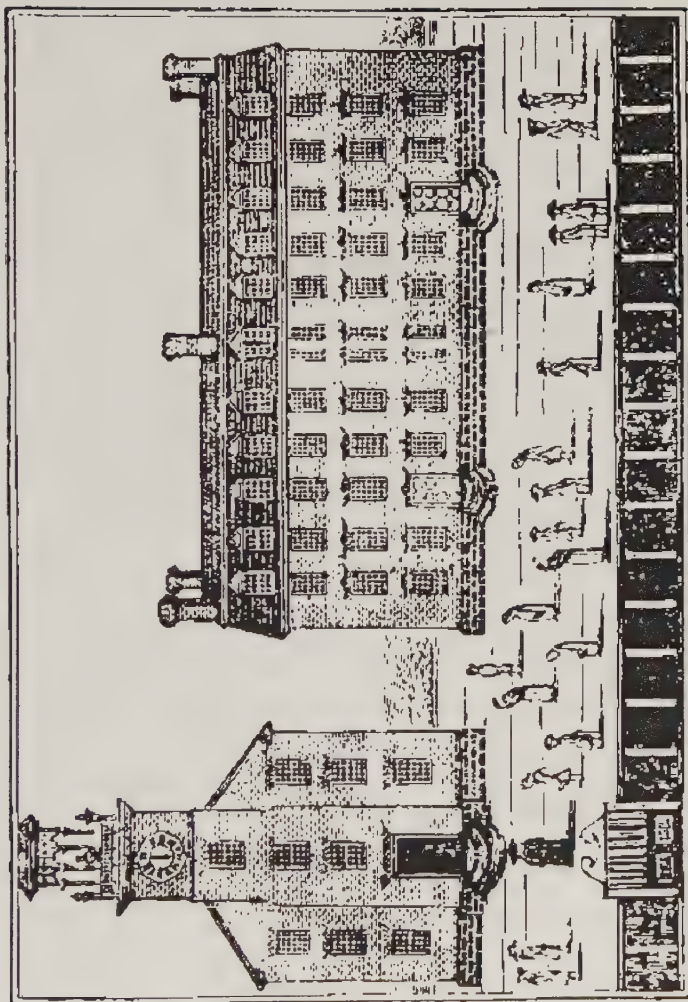
"Upon almost every rumour of danger he would send on his expresses to Connecticut; and the Governor and Council and sometimes the Assembly were obliged to meet and dispatch troops to one place and another. Often by the time they had marched others would come to recall them. By the time they were returned some new and groundless alarm would permit of pressing orders to march again. 'In this manner he almost wore out the Governor and Council with meetings, and

beyond measure harassed the militia and occasioned great trouble and expense of time and money to both officers and soldiers.' The whole colony was so troubled that the Governor wrote to [Fitz John] Winthrop in England to pray his Majesty for relief."

The relief came with news of the Treaty of Ryswick and the displacement of Fletcher by the Earl of Bellomont. Upon his lordship's arrival in New York, the colony presented its compliments by a committee of three of its most creditable men; one of whom, the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall, the Earl said, appeared the most like a nobleman of any person he had seen in America.

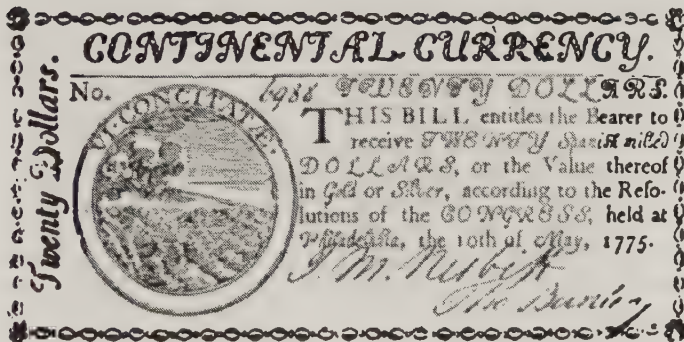
When Fitz John Winthrop returned from England, the Assembly, calling him "their Common Benefactor," voted him £300, and appointed a special day of thanksgiving for his safe arrival. At the next election, in 1698, the aged Major-General Treat, after fifteen years of "judgment and honour" in the first office, was transferred to second place, while Winthrop was made Governor. They were retained thus for ten years, Winthrop dying in office as his father had done. Besides his excellent, though not extraordinary ability as a colonial statesman, he did much for new industries by his scientific knowledge, as one of the greatest "chymists" and physicians of his day.

At that time the education of practically every boy in the colony was provided for by laws compelling towns of less than seventy families to maintain schools through half the year, while large towns



must do so through the whole year, " with able and sufficient schoolmasters." The " capital towns of each of the four counties " were required to have a free grammar school where young men might prepare for college, and steps were taken for the foundation of Yale College at Newhaven, when Harvard was sixty years old.

While Queen Anne's war did not invade the colony, it was aided by a large tax and issue of paper money, redeemed so wisely that it never depreciated



much below the full value. Troops were placed in the field, ready for the defence of the colony; every settler on the frontier was threatened with loss of his land and improvements, besides a heavy fine, if he deserted his plantation. Each friendly Indian received £10 for delivering up an unfriendly one.

There were other than war-clouds in the sky. Some suitor claimed the right to appeal to England from a decision of the colony's court. Dry as the story is now, it was an absorbing matter then; especially as time discovered that it was merely one

cog among many wheels set up for the destruction of this and others of Charles II.'s "too liberal" charters. Joseph Dudley, a native and Governor of Massachusetts, was deep in a conspiracy with other self-seeking traitors in the colonies and out of them, chiefly with the disreputable Governor of New York, the Queen's cousin, Lord Cornbury. Anticipating dizzy heights of favour, Dudley was moving heaven and earth to push a bill before Parliament for the union of the colonies. The Queen's ear was filled with everything that could be said in favour of an united government, and in condemnation of special charters, Connecticut's in particular. But Dudley and his set could not prevent the appointment of Sir Henry Ashurst as agent for the colonists; and Ashurst was more than their match. The first battle was over before the colony knew how Dudley and Cornbury had produced document after document of detailed accusation before the Queen in Council, and how Ashurst and his powerful friends had made such able defence that her Majesty had called for evidence and legal testimony from Connecticut on the one side and from Dudley and Cornbury on the other. Then the records of this colony alone caught the conspirators in their own snare, not only giving the lie to their accusations, but publishing the remarkable superiority of its government and its generous devotion in the royal wars. The attack on the charters fell to pieces.

At that moment four hundred Connecticut men were under arms in defence of Massachusetts and New York, besides half as many on guard in the



SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL.
From a steel Print.

colony, and that while the people were in especially poor circumstances. Little more than £2000 were in circulation, and within a short time it had been necessary to add over two shillings on the pound to the whole list of taxes, which were payable in country produce, such as grain, pork, beef, shipped to Boston and the West Indies in order to obtain money and bills of exchange to discharge debts in England and elsewhere. But the people thought nothing of these burdens when they heard of their deliverance from the attacks on their charter. They accepted it with wonder and thanksgiving, and showed their gratitude to God by declaring His ministers and their families for ever free from taxes—as they are to this day.

This is linked in time, and in sentiment, no doubt, with the election of the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall as Governor in 1707, upon the death of Fitz John Winthrop. This godly minister of New London, “by far the most learned and able lawyer in the colony,” was a great-grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, a leader in the Massachusetts immigration. He was a graduate of Harvard, and had been Winthrop’s right-hand man for years, defending the colony’s Indian title, and conducting all the delicate correspondence sent to England for the defence of the charter. In spite of his own self-deprecation, the people knew that he was the man for the time, and, altering the constitution, as he never had been a magistrate, they elected him and re-elected him for the rest of his life—about eighteen years. During the same time Nathan Gold was Deputy-Governor.

"A clergyman in the chief magistracy was a new thing in New England ; but the experiment was in this instance grandly justified. . . . The rigour of ancient opinions and manners was unavoidably abating. There was some danger that the pendulum would swing back too far. . . . But Saltonstall's hand upon the helm of state proved to be muscular and firm. To some it seemed even rough and heavy. But his abilities, energy, and various accomplishments were universally allowed, even when his enlightened public spirit sometimes failed to secure the due estimation."

It was in his time that the famous custom was established of the ministers preaching meeting sermons "to the freemen, on the day appointed by law to choose their civil rulers in the towns where they meet, proper for their direction in the work before them."

After the first third of this administration had passed, at Queen Anne's death, it was said that the towns had increased from thirty to fifty during her reign, each having its meeting-house, educated minister, and free school, which raised every boy above the servitude of ignorance and the hardships and temptations of poverty. The colony numbered 27,500 people, 1500 of them negroes, 4000 in the militia, over 100 sailors. Most of the people were farmers, although many towns had vessels engaged in fishing and trade, while ships were built in all the inlets on the southern shore. The colony forbade the export of timber except for masts, which, with other naval stores, went to England. Horses, cattle, and provisions were shipped to the West Indies,

in exchange for rum, sugar, and molasses. Grain and other provisions were sent to neighbouring colonies. Once, when grain was scarce in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, exportation to other places was forbidden.

"A condition of society so happy as that enjoyed by Connecticut at this period, especially during the long administration of Saltonstall, has been rare in the experience of mankind. She was the happiest of the colonies in New England." Even "the Church of England, which had gained in Andros's time a foothold, especially in the western part of the colony, obtained a fair recognition of their wishes from the government," which also, with "parental care provided . . . for the poor and sick and the protection of injured persons in circumstances not contemplated by the general laws. . . . It was unwearied in providing for the comfort of the Indians, and for their protection against the rapacity of their neighbours," or harm from savages of other parts of the country.

In 1724, Saltonstall and Gold were succeeded by Joseph Talcott and Jonathan Law, who also held their offices for seventeen years of peaceful prosperity, ruffled only by the excitement over the volunteers who joined Admiral Vernon's expedition to Cartagena in George II.'s Spanish war, and by attacks upon the charter in England, when it was most ably defended by Jeremiah Dummer. Talcott was succeeded by Law for nine years, from 1741 to 1750. For "King George's war" on the French, the colony raised more than a thousand men toward

the capture of Louisbourg in 1745, and a thousand more toward the expedition against Quebec that never was made. On Governor Law's death, Roger Wolcott held his post for four years, to be succeeded in his turn by Thomas Fitch, whose twelve years saw the country through the final conflict with the French. It did not touch their own territory, but the Connecticut people, besides a close guard at home, kept one thousand to fifty-four hundred men in the field, almost three times as many in proportion to the population as the other colonies. As always, the taxes were raised at once as high as the people could bear them cheerfully, and substantial funds were provided in short periods for the payment of the whole list. To aid in this, the Assembly made annual contracts with the British commissary to supply pork and large droves of fat cattle, besides other provisions to the value of £4000 sterling, which was paid in money or in bills of exchange. Farmers and merchants were roused to their utmost exertions in safe and prosperous trade, which not only made money plentiful during the war and kept up taxes and credit, but opened ways for still greater enterprise when thousands of men returned from the field. So the colony soon cleared off its war debt, and was saved the difficulties that long depressed some of the others. Mr. Johnston says:

"The close of the French and Indian war marks the period when Connecticut's democratic constitution began to influence other commonwealths. Her charter was an object lesson to all, . . . and their growing demands upon the Crown caused an equally steady

approximation toward the establishment of a local democracy like that which Connecticut had kept up for one hundred and fifty years."

The Stamp Act, which struck more heavily at this colony than any other except Rhode Island, was met by the Assembly's protest and instructions to agents in London to insist on "the exclusive right of the colonies to tax themselves, and on the privilege of trial by jury," rights which "they never could recede from." Jared Ingersoll, who was sent out as a special agent, became convinced that he could do nothing, and, believing that the leaders of the colony would rather submit than risk their charter, he accepted the office of Stamp Collector, and returned home. Little he knew of the eloquence that the ministers had been pouring forth against this tax, or of the organisation of the Sons of Liberty, overawing almost the entire population. Some of them met him as he came home, and compelled him to resign his office on the spot; and then a thousand of them, mounted farmers and freeholders, escorted him into Hartford. From that time there were few in the colony who were disposed to submit to taxation from England. Non-consumption and non-importation agreements were kept more strenuously than in many colonies. Sympathy for Massachusetts in the Tea Party, the Boston Port Bill, and all the rest of the struggle was shown by the towns, Assembly, and magistrates, and by the Governors — William Pitkin during his three years, and Jonathan Trumbull, who followed him in 1769 and kept the helm during all the rest of the resistance.

At first the towns, as Mr. Johnston describes them,

“in the traditional Connecticut fashion, as if they were little commonwealths in themselves, . . . met, voted solemn condemnation of the British ministry, appointed committees of safety and appropriated money to buy arms and powder. Every town sent in its contribution to the poor of Boston, and every committee . . . a long letter of condolence.”

In May, 1774, the Assembly took measures to direct this quietly gathering power of resistance, appointing military officers, ordering regular drill, sending delegates to the Continental Congress, and following that body's recommendations. The militia was the first to answer the call for troops to besiege Boston, when the British took possession after the fights at Lexington and Concord, and the first to go to the Western Grants and raise the force of Green Mountain Boys who captured Ticonderoga.

The colony was entrusted by Congress with many of its prisoners of war, among them some of the most important. Allegiance to the Crown was formally renounced in May, 1776, about two months before Congress declared independence; and, in October, the General Assembly proclaimed the government as the “free, sovereign, and independent State” of Connecticut.





CHAPTER XI

RHODE ISLAND, TENTH COLONY — FREE-CON- SCIENCE DEMOCRACIES

PROVIDENCE

THE long and broad bay of the Narragansett Indians, with its vine-growing, well-wooded shores and its few but remarkable islands, was the talk of explorers from the year 1000, when Leif the Norseman is supposed to have won his surname, "the Lucky," partly because of his discovery of this Vinland. Verrazano, in 1524, said this latitude ($41^{\circ} 40'$) was "as pleasant as it is possible to conceive"; and none of its charms were lost in 1610, when it was explored by the Dutchman Adriaen Block, whose eye, some say, was so taken by the colour of the red clay on the large island near its mouth that he named it the red or Roodt Island, which Englishmen changed into Rhode Island.

The shores were occupied on the east by the Wampanoags under Massasoit — the friends of the New Plymouth Colony. On the west were several small nations, under tribute to the warlike race at the head of the bay, the Narragansetts, whose

friendship and trade were cultivated by both English and Dutch, especially while they used the shell money as their currency. No attempt, however, was made to take possession of this mild and fertile sea-cut country until, in the spring of 1636, the lovable and gifted Roger Williams built the first log cabin of his colony—the tenth of the Thirteen. He called it Providence, in gratitude to Heaven for the grant of so fair a resting-place for himself and others, who were not wanted in Massachusetts by the Boston hierarchy, nor in England by the Established Church. Williams was a young Welshman who had been educated by the great lawyer Sir Edward Coke, affectionately called his son, and employed as his secretary. He had taken his degree at Cambridge and Holy Orders; but soon after had expressed views that drew upon him the displeasure of Archbishop Laud. So he fled to New England, and was received with extreme cordiality in Boston when he arrived there with his young wife in 1631. But the welcome suddenly cooled when he declined to become the teacher or assistant pastor of the congregation because it would not formally separate from the Church of England, and because he believed that the civil authority should have no power over religious affairs. He was called immediately to the church in Salem, and made himself so well beloved that the Boston hierarchy had to induce the General Court of the colony to strike the town a hard blow before the people would renounce him. Then he went to New Plymouth, where he was a “godly worker” for two

years, meantime probably studying the Dutch language from some of his flock—he was able to teach it later—and certainly acquiring the speech of Massasoit and the friendly Wampanoags. But he alarmed the authorities of both colonies by declaring that the natives held the only right to the country, and that the King's grant was mere usurpation. Salem, however, insisted on recalling him, although his heresy was regarded as so serious a menace to the principles of the Bay that it was attacked in pamphlets and sermons, debated with him by the clergy, and tried before the General Court. Nothing could have served better to bring out the whole of his conceptions than the answers he was called upon to make by these attacks. Every measure taken to confound him seemed a means to give the widest publicity to the principles of a new religion and a new system of government. Says Hildreth:

“ His vigorous intellect had seized the great idea of what he called ‘ soul-liberty,’ the inviolable freedom of opinion . . . on religion—an idea . . . which, by its gradual reception, has wrought in the course of two centuries such remarkable changes in Christendom.”

He declared that “ the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ,” and at a later day he said: “ The removal of the yoke of civil oppression, as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace.”

As Bancroft says, this principle under which

"the magistrate should restrain crime but never punish opinion, should punish guilt but should never violate inward freedom, contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence. It would blot from the statute-book the felony of non-conformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religion. . . . In the unwavering assertion of his views, he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet which, with all its consequences, he defended."

In England, for these opinions, Williams might have been pilloried and maimed, while in any other country except in some parts of the Turkish Empire and of the Netherlands, he might have been burned at the stake. In Massachusetts he was given time to recant, on pain of banishment if he proved obstinate. This sentence was suddenly altered to transportation to England—partly to offset charges that certain "inalignant practices against the country" were afoot; partly because among the devoted friends who gathered at his house in Salem, he had continued, against the General Court's orders, to "broach and divulge his new and strange opinions in defamation of the magistrates and churches," and planned a colony of his own, "from whence," said Winthrop, "the infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them

much taken with the apprehension of his gentleness." Indeed, they said " he was in the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly minded soul." " Many hearts were touched towards relentings," and " many judicious persons confessed him to have had the root of the matter in him." In all the violence of his persecutors against him, he said, " I did ever from my soul, honour and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." His war was only on the spirit of intolerance, not on the intolerant. To ship him off to England at once, Captain Underhill was sent from Boston to Salem. But some kindly warning outstripped his pinnace, and Williams left his sick bed and his home for the woods, alone, at night, in the dead of winter. He was advised, he said long afterwards, by " that ever honoured Governor Mr. Winthrop," who " privately wrote me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay and the Indians, for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents."

" For fourteen weeks he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," but reaping what he had sown among the savages. As an honoured guest he stayed with Massasoit at Mount Hope for the rest of the winter, receiving from him a grant of land on that part of the Seekonk River now known as Manton's Cove. Williams wrote: " My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their language

(which I afterward printed)," in the "*Key to the Indian Languages of America*."

"In requital for their hospitality, he was ever through his long life their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire or weariness or impatience at their idolatry, the pacificator of their own feuds, the guardian of their rights whenever Europeans attempted an invasion of their soil."

Probably the only other white man in the whole region was William Blackstone, who had left Shawmut to "the lords brethren" of Boston and settled on an upper branch of the Seekonk, which still bears his name.

Before Williams's cabin was finished he received a kindly notice from Governor Winslow that he was within the Plymouth patent and would do well to take the other side of the river. That was the Narragansetts' country; but old Miantonomo and his nephew Canonicus made him welcome. The "barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, loved him as his son, to the last gasp." So he and his companions packed up their few belongings and in a canoe made their way down and across the Seekonk. At Slate Rock a party of Narragansetts who, perhaps, had learned the greeting from English traders, hailed them with the familiar Indian welcome of the day, "What cheer, *netop*?" "Netop" was the natives' word for friend. What Cheer has become the name of the spot.

Williams chose the peninsula between the Moos-hassuck and Woonasquatucket for the new colony.



ROGER WILLIAMS RECEIVED BY THE INDIANS.
From a Design by A. H. Wray.

He named it Providence in token "of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress," and declared that it should be "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." He camped under the shade of spreading trees, and, with hands more used to a pen than an axe, he hewed a clearing in the dense forest, and built a cabin for his wife and child, who soon joined him. Several others came from Salem and New Plymouth and built small dwellings. His time, he said, "was not spent altogether in spiritual labours; but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." In the long mild evenings after their busy days, he and his companions must have spent many hours together, at the doors of the tiny log huts, earnestly talking over the events which had brought them thither, and the best methods of carrying on the management of their community, for which there were no precedents.

Probably it was soon after the first harvest, that Williams was warned that the Pequots were trying to induce the Narragansetts to forget old feuds and join them in clearing every white man out of the country. Williams notified the Bay, knowing well that he was the only individual who could prevent such an alliance, and when the frightened magistrates appealed to him to do so,

"The Lord helped me," he wrote long afterwards, "immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great

seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeking with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but look for their bloody knives at my own throat also."

The ears of Miantonomo and his council were ringing with the losses and evils that his race had suffered and must yet suffer at the hands of the strangers, when Williams came in among them — the white man who had done them only good. He had eaten their bread, learned their language, demanded their rights of his fellow-colonists, he had counselled them in trouble and nursed them in sickness. He was risking his life to plead for his countrymen, at whose hands he, as well as the natives, had suffered. The council of the Narragansetts were deeply moved, and at length they rejected the importunities of the Pequots for an alliance. Afterwards, when Captain Mason's little army landed on the shores of this bay, on its circuitous route from the Connecticut to the Pequot country, the Narragansetts aided it in the attack, which was the first stage in the fulfilment of the Pequots' prophecy.

After this war, probably, Miantonomo and Canonicus gave Williams a deed to the region in which he had settled, and for which he had paid by mortgaging his house in Salem. Then he sold plots in this "Grand Purchase" at thirty shillings each to settlers coming in to join him, "until," he said, "my

charge be out for the particular lots." He reserved to himself "not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and to strangers." Within a year or so the sachems made him a gift "in consideration of the many kindnesses he hath continually done for us," to include all the fertile country between the Pawtuxet River on the south-west and the Pawtucket River on the north-east—with the grass and meadows on the latter stream and down the western shore of the bay.

The first of his few records of the plantation shows that on the eighth day of the eighth month of 1638, Williams gave the "Initial Deed," containing only the initials of the guarantors, sharing his land equally with twelve comrades, "and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us." Soon afterward thirteen proprietors, six settlers, and others to the number of fifty-four men, had home lots in the "Grand Purchase," besides six acre lots on the banks of the several streams. Every settler improved his grant under penalty, and was forbidden to sell to anyone but an inhabitant without the consent of the others. Thirteen men (not one of them signers of the Initial Deed) agreed to this compact:

"We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters

of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things."

The "masters of families" incorporated themselves into a town, made an order that no one should be molested for his conscience, and elected a treasurer, who was the only officer for four years.

"In this wise," says Arnold, "Roger Williams and his companions established at Providence an anomaly in the history of the world, a pure democracy, ignoring any power in the body politic to interfere with those matters that alone concern man and his Maker. . . . Religion, ethics, and politics as now received, are alike indebted to him for their fundamental principles. . . ."*

Many who sought this refuge were of the small and much despised sect of dissenters called Anabaptists. Williams, finding their opinions to coincide somewhat with his own, received baptism from one of their number, Ezekiel Holyman, "a poor man late of Salem." Then Williams baptised Holyman and ten others. This was the founding of the first religious society in that colony, and stands in history as the first Baptist Church in America. The time was probably 1638. But Williams, whose mind was as remarkable for hair-splitting as for its breadth and grasp, was not at rest over his baptism. He received another, and in a few months was unquiet about that, at first waiting for a new Apostolic commission, but at length finding the true level of a devout man, two centuries

* *History of Rhode Island.*

before his time, and reconciling himself to live in a perpetual "way of seeking."

We know almost nothing of how the colony fared, except from the third and last of the meagre records, which shows that some children were born, and that in 1640 thirty-nine men signed twelve articles of agreement. These constituted a Form of Government, devised by four chosen "Arbitrators," and providing for a board of five "Disposers," chosen by the whole body of freemen. These Disposers were vested with the general charge of affairs, the distribution of land, the hearing and settling of civil grievances—although the contestants could appoint their own arbitrators. They admitted new members, after notifying the rest of the community and hearing any objections. Their reports were rendered at quarterly meetings with the freemen, who might also be summoned to a special meeting, to hear the grievance of any of their fellow-townsmen. In criminal cases, apparently, the whole body of inhabitants, sat in judgment, to interpret the law and to enforce the penalty. But this polity was called "a hotbed of anarchy" by the fathers of the well-developed Puritan jurisdiction.

PORTSMOUTH

When Providence was about two years old, in the spring of 1638, the second Narragansett colony was planted at the mouth of the bay on Aquedneck, sometimes called Quidnay, for short, the largest of the islands. The settlers were some half-dozen broad-minded Bostonians driven out of Massachu-

setts owing to the religious controversy which arose over Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. That famous lady had declared that Mr. Cotton, teacher of the Boston church, was under a "Covenant of Grace" while Mr. Wilson, the pastor, and nearly all other ministers of the colony, were merely under "Covenant of Works." The slighted ministers, upheld by Governor Winthrop and most of the magistrates, assailed Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents as Antinomians, a term which in the mouth of the Puritans was one of stinging reproach. After Mr. Cotton renounced Mrs. Hutchinson's unpopular favour, admitting that she had made him a "stalking-horse," all who did not follow his example were forced to leave the colony so summarily that they embarked with but a general idea of going farther south.

The leader of this small exodus, called by Calender "Puritans of the highest form," was William Coddington, who for seven years had been one of the foremost men of the Massachusetts Colony, its treasurer, a magistrate, a deputy, a large landowner in what is now Quincy. He was "a firm, self-asserting man of business turn of mind, of somewhat grasping disposition," so important as to have been spared all attacks in the quarrel until it was clear that he would never desert the Antinomians. Then, "not willing to live in the fire of contention," he took his family from their new home, some say the first brick house built in Boston. He afterwards wrote to Winthrop, "what myself and wife and family did endure in that removal, I wish neither you nor yours may ever be put unto."

With him were seventeen men, some with and some without families, including the husband of the lady who had caused the tempest, whom Winthrop called "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." Another much-married man of the company was William Dyer, whose beautiful wife — afterwards killed on Boston Common for another faith — was condemned by the Boston hierarchy as "notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's errors, and very censorious and troublesome, she being of a very proud spirit, and much addicted to revelations." Other leaders were John Clarke, physician and minister, a clear-headed man of influence and authority, who founded the first Baptist Church on the island, and afterwards won much respect and favour for the "Narrogansett Plantations" in England. It is said that some of the party had helped Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson's brother-in-law and the first Antinomian exile, to plant Exeter in New Hampshire, but, desiring a milder climate, had returned and joined Coddington. They left Boston by boat to plant on Long Island or near the Delaware; but, stopping to visit Williams, received a welcome not easy to resist, and tarried while he showed them his bay and persuaded them that they had reason to look no farther. At first they selected a neck on the eastern shore of what is now Barrington, but the New Plymouth Colony declared that "to be the garden of their Patent and the flower in the garden," while they laid no claim to the islands. The home-seekers soon decided that a fair enough garden for them

was on the fertile "Aquetnet," which had better climate, soil, and harbours than any part of Massachusetts, and natural cliff defences toward the mouth of the bay. Miantonomo sold them the entire island, together with the grass of the two islands near by, for forty fathoms of white wampum peage, while the local sachems received five fathoms of black wampum, and the men who vacated were satisfied with twenty-three coats and thirteen hoes.

Coddington and his companions, before leaving Providence, drew up and signed this compact, on the Jewish model, simpler than that of Providence or of the Pilgrims:

"The seventh day of the first month, 1638. We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehova, incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and all these most perfect and absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.—Exod. xxiv., 3, 4; 2 Chron. xi., 17."

All public affairs were to be settled in town-meeting. Coddington was elected the Judge, or chief magistrate; William Aspinwall, secretary; and William Dyer, clerk. They seated themselves at Pocasset, afterwards Portsmouth, around what was called Coddington's Cove, on the northern end of Aqued-neck. They laid off six-acre lots for each proprietor, and sites for a meeting-house, an inn, and a brewery. They formed a regular New England town, to be

governed and to receive new members by the general consent. All men between the ages of sixteen and fifty, equipped and ready for drill, mustered on November 12, 1638, the first militia in what is now the State of Rhode Island. Under Dr. Clarke they "gathered" for worship, Winthrop says after his prejudiced fashion, "in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons and others who were members of the church of Boston and not dismissed."

The plantation immediately became a magnet to all sorts of people, especially outcasts from Plymouth and the Bay. In a few years it was necessary to elect a constable "to preserve the peace and prevent unlawful meetings"; and next was selected a sergeant "to keep a prison." We have scant knowledge of what else took place until after the arrival of Samuel Gorton, a Quaker, who two years before had come from England to Boston, where his independent spirit and loose tongue "ran like a pestilential fog." He had forfeited his bond to keep the peace in Plymouth and landed in Pocasset, with John Wickes, who shared his chequered fortunes for a long time. He was cordially received because he was "deeply imbued with the principles of soul-liberty"; he was admitted as an inhabitant, and, as a mark of special respect, was listed as Mr. Gorton. But soon "his avowed principles and his acts in accordance therewith" were "so outrageous as not to be borne in Aquedneck." The jury found him guilty on fourteen separate counts, for which he was sentenced to be whipped and banished from

the island; whereupon he gaily called Wickes and other reckless spirits to see what soul-liberty they might find in Providence.

NEWPORT

Soon after the Gorton troubles, Coddington and Clarke led a portion of the colony to the other end of the island, and, in 1639, set up another town on both sides of the spring on the rising ground above the sheltered harbour on the south-west. They were probably unconscious that they had chosen one of the best sites on the Atlantic seaboard for their "new port." They were joined by over fifty persons, two thirds of the inhabitants of Pocasset, by that time called Portsmouth; and twice as many came from other places during the summer. One of the first resolutions of the town-meeting was that Dr. Clarke and Nicholas Easton should try to obtain a charter from the King, through the then great power of young Henry Vane, who, during the year of his governorship at the Bay, had been an outspoken champion of Mrs. Hutchinson. In the next year, Newport and Portsmouth united under a new constitution as one colony, with Coddington for Governor and Hutchinson an assistant. The latter died two years afterwards, and his widow, in search quite as possibly of quiet in her genuine grief as, according to her enemies' view, of fresh fields for agitation, removed to Manhattan Island, "neare a place called by seamen and in the Maps Hell-gate," where before long she and her family of "about

sixteen persons" met their death by an Indian massacre, which fixed her name upon a little stream not far away. The colony adopted stringent military discipline, made a formal treaty with the Narragansetts, and chose a seal with a sheaf of arrows bound together with the motto *Amor vincit omnia* to show that love was the bond of this tiny new commonwealth.

"It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon that the government which this body politic doth attend unto in this island and the jurisdiction thereof in favour of our Prince is a Democratic or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or the part of them, to make or constitute just laws by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man."

Mr. Doyle says these colonial legislators were the first to speak of their "state" instead of their "colony." They resolved "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, providing it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established" — which did not raise them in the estimation of Massachusetts.

This was the memorable time in New England when all the settlements south of the Bay lived in dread of the Dutch and their Indian allies. The magistrates of Aquedneck were as anxious as those of Connecticut and Newhaven to induce Massachusetts to form some sort of protective union for all English colonists; but the burden of the Narra-

gansett settlers' appeal was "for gaining the Indians by justice and kindness, and declaring dislike of such as would have them rooted out as being of the accursed race of Ham." The orthodox Puritans, however, framed their federation without any connection with Antinomians and Anabaptists, although theirs perhaps was the most exposed of all the colonies. Four years later, and again four years after that, these towns, and Providence, too, appealed to be included: but each time they were refused, unless they would annex themselves either to New Plymouth or to Massachusetts. Certainly, as yet, they had not proved even well enough governed according to their own principles for an orderly community of the broadest tolerance to be anxious for a connection with them.

WARWICK

Gorton and his companions, meantime, as Williams said, so "bewitched and bemaddened" poor Providence that he seriously thought of removing his family to Patience Island. Then they betook themselves off to the southern outskirts of his colony, making a plantation of their own at Pawtuxet, now Cranston, and threw the neighbouring settlers of the "Pawtuxet Purchase" into such "tumultuous hubbub," even causing bloodshed, that they sent an appeal to the powerful General Court of Massachusetts to rid them of the troublesome invaders. The General Court, first requiring the abused settlers to make formal submission to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, summoned the

Gortonites to Boston to make good their claim to the land they occupied. Instead of answering, the trouble-makers removed farther south, making a purchase of their own from the local sachems, Saconoco and Pomham, under Miantonomo, on what is now Greenwich Bay, including most of the land now covered by Warwick and Coventry. At Shawomet, about a dozen miles south of Providence, they, with several families, made a plantation for which they agreed to seek a charter from England. Within six months Saconoco and Pomham begged the Massachusetts General Court to restore their land to them, saying that they had been forced to sell it by Miantonomo. The Bay called on Gorton to disprove this, and received such a blasphemous reply that they felt justified in sending an embassy to Shawomet, escorted by forty armed men, to deal with the "fanatical heretics." The "Gortonogese" men sent their women and children into the woods, fortified their block-house, and waited, not for the embassy, but for the forty fowling pieces of the escort. Roger Williams tried to act as peacemaker, but Massachusetts refused to negotiate with "a few fugitives living without law or government," and ordered the embassy to proceed. Shawomet resisted stoutly, but raised its guard on Sunday; Gorton and his men wished to observe the day, and believed that the Massachusetts party would do the same. The Puritans, however, seized the opportunity to put a torch to the block-house, and though they did not succeed in burning it down, they so weakened it that within

a few days they were able to force an entrance. Some of the "blasphemers" made their escape, but Gorton and eight others were marched to Boston, and treated, they said, with brutality on the way. In a farcical trial for blasphemy, they were found guilty and imprisoned in different towns; but they were released later on account of the sympathy shown them, especially by the women of the colony. Then, forbidden to spread their doctrines, they were banished on pain of death, and their arms given to Saconoco and Pomham. Aquedneck, forgiving old scores, received them as "fugitives for conscience' sake from the harsh intolerance"; and they rewarded the hospitality with admirable behaviour. They soon attempted to rebuild Shawomet, but Massachusetts drove them away, saying that as part of their punishment the land had been restored to the local sachems. While meekly living for another space at Aquedneck, Gorton outwitted his enemies by inducing Miantonomo's nephew, Canonicus, to make a formal declaration of the Narragansetts' allegiance to the King of England; and, taking two sachems with him to bear the submission of their nation, he addressed himself successfully to the newly appointed Plantations Committee of Parliament, of which the Earl of Warwick was the head as Governor-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of the Colonies, and young Henry Vane probably the most powerful member. In spite of the opposition of Winslow, then in London as agent of New Plymouth and the Bay, Gorton and his comrades returned to Boston, probably in the spring of 1646, not only

with patents to Shawomet but with a letter demanding their safety in passing through the Bay, and in their settlement even if it were within the limits of that colony. No wonder Gorton named his restored plantation Warwick. The returned travellers were soon sent for by Canonicus. Their safe arrival after the harsh treatment and threats they had received from Massachusetts convinced him and his council that the palefaces must be of two races; those who inhabited the Massachusetts and other places were the well-known English whom they first saw and called Wattacongoes because they wore clothes; but apparently these Gortonogese were of another race, and when a few of them came over, the others were alarmed for fear more would come and conquer them. Clearly the Gortonogese were to be deeply respected. The Puritans still held the plantation in contempt, but they could no longer interfere with its growth.





CHAPTER XII

THE MOST LIBERAL GOVERNMENT EVER CHARTERED

THE Gorton experiences and others convinced Providence and Aquedneck of their weakness as separate governments and showed them that they were likely to fall under the control of Massachusetts in spite of themselves, if they did not secure title from England strong enough to protect their claim. Williams's antecedents, his charming manner and character, and his power of speech, all marked him out as fitted for the task. In England he was received, in 1643, as a great man and taken into the household of Oliver Cromwell, whom he taught the Dutch language. He was almost venerated by Parliament for his missionary work, especially his "printed Indian labours, the like whereof was not extant from any part of America." His very presence seemed to move "both Houses to grant unto him, and the friends who had settled with him, a free and absolute character of civil government of his abode," which was issued March 14, 1644; uniting the three plantations into "The Incorporation of Providence

Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." With safe conduct through Massachusetts commanded by Parliament, Williams returned in the autumn of 1644. By the same route that he had taken as a fugitive eight years before, he reached Seekonk, where he was met by an escort of honour from Providence in a flotilla of fourteen canoes to give a "triumphal welcome to him who had now a second time earned the title of their founder." But this triumphal procession did not at once lead the towns of the Narragansett into a sound and united government. For nearly three years the charter lay in Providence, merely so much parchment, chiefly because the settlers were intimidated by the Massachusetts people, who, besides making diplomatic efforts in England towards having it revoked, spread rumours questioning its validity. They took advantage of discontent among the colonists and every other possibility to extend their own jurisdiction and that of New Plymouth -- which soon claimed the islands as well as the eastern shore of the Narragansett, and even Connecticut.

At length, in May, 1647, a meeting was held at Portsmouth attended by Williams and other delegates from Providence, which planned a constitution and laws which remained, at least a substantial effort in the right direction, for seventeen years. But that was far from a time of perfect peace. Bancroft says:

"The little 'democracie' which at the beat of the drum or the voice of the herald, used to assemble beneath an oak by the seaside, was famous for its

'headiness and tumults,' its stormy town-meetings, and the angry feuds of its herdsmen and shepherds."

But they said, "Our popularitie shall not, as some conjecture it will, prove an anarchie, and so a common tirrorie; for we are exceeding desirous to preserve every man safe in his person, name, and estate."

Freedom of conscience "to every man, whether Jew, or Turk, or Papist, or whomsoever that steers no otherwise than his conscience dares" made the Narragansett a harbour for all sorts of fanatical and peculiar sects, many of which did no more than trouble the waters for a short time, increase the colony's bad name, and vanish, leaving no trace behind them.

After a few years Coddington went to England, and came back with a commission as life Governor or president of Aquedneck and the neighbouring island of Conanicut. But some said bluntly that he had broken faith, and that his rivalry against Williams's charter was for the benefit of Massachusetts. The strength of his opposition lay mainly in the Baptist church which Dr. Clarke had organised a few years before and which he led with great ability. At this time he and two other Baptists had been arrested, fined, and one of them whipped for a peaceable though religious visit to a sick friend in Massachusetts. The rumour that Coddington had anything to do with these persecutors was false, no doubt, but it affected the prospects of the colony. Portsmouth and Newport sent Dr. Clarke to England to protest against Coddington's com-



THE ROGER WILLIAMS MONUMENT.

mission in the name of his fellow-colonists, while Providence and Warwick induced Williams to return and have the charter confirmed.

It is interesting to note that at this same time Providence and Warwick enacted that any master of "black mankind" shall "at the end of ten years set them free, as the manner is with English servants; and that man that will not let his slave go free, or shall sell him away to the end that he may be enslaved to others for a longer time, shall forfeit to the colony forty pounds"—which then was nearly twice the value of a negro slave.

The tact of Williams and Clarke succeeded, after about a year, in annihilating Coddington's "obstruction," although he insisted that the revocation was not "authentic." In the several settlements, meantime, one officer was tried for treason, another was disfranchised "upon suspicion of insufferable treachery," some were "ruined by party contentions with Mr. Cottingham" and all were in a ferment, holding rival assemblies at Newport and Providence. In addition, the leading traders of the island towns were anxious to do almost anything, even to joining Connecticut and Newhaven, to bring the colonists into the war which had broken out between England and Holland. At length they rejoiced quite as much for the spoils as for the protection of their commerce, when Cromwell's Council of State sent the "magistrates and free inhabitants" authority to "take and seize Dutch ships and vessels." Privateers' commissions were issued, a Court of Admiralty was established to pronounce judgment

on prizes, and volunteers were raised to act with the English on Long Island. Palfrey relates that Providence complained to Sir Henry Vane that one Newport captain plunged "himself and some others in most unnecessary and unrighteous plundering, both of Dutch and French, and English also"; while another seized a vessel belonging to a town of New Plymouth and a third took a Dutch prize into the harbour of Fairfield, in the Connecticut Colony, pursued by two Dutch vessels which blockaded the port. All of this, which is said to have been the beginning of Newport's greatness, deepened the animosity of the Federated Colonies, which, under the Bay's domination, were at peace with the Dutch; and soon made the Narragansett Bay a rendezvous for pirates, a use for which its shores were wonderfully adapted. This gave the colony a worse name than even their "fanatical heresy."

Never was a peacemaker more needed than when Williams returned in the summer of 1654, leaving Clarke to represent his "hotbed of anarchy" more ably than almost any greater colony was represented at this time. Williams brought a sharp letter from Vane, urging the people to unite and behave themselves, saying that the English Commonwealth "gave them their freedom as supposing a better use would be made of it." Upon call for a conference to establish the government, each town sent six commissioners, who voted that "the rights of government should henceforth be vested in a body composed like itself," under the system adopted in 1647.

The people of Providence took Vane's reprimand to heart, and in a town-meeting in 1654 expressed their gratitude to him in these terms:

" From the first beginning of the Providence colony, you have been a noble and true friend to an outcast and despised people; we have ever reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving-kindness and favour. We have long been free from the iron yoke of wolfish bishops; we have sitten dry from the streams of blood spilt by the wars in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor in this colony have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so-called) godly, Christian magistrates. We have not known-what an excise means. We have almost forgotten what tithes are. We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven. When we are gone, our children and posterity after us shall read, in our town records, your loving-kindness to us, and our real endeavour after peace and righteousness."

Williams was elected Governor. Coddington, after about two years, gave up his claim, entering the Assembly as a deputy, in spite of some disturbance among his enemies. Most of the Pawtuxet trouble-makers moved away. Massachusetts abated its pretensions, and the Rhode Island Assembly passed a law forbidding a citizen to place his land under any foreign jurisdiction, or to seek to introduce any foreign power. In this manner the conflict of the townships was quieted for about fifteen years. New settlers came but slowly to all except

the bustling, ship-building, privateersmen's towns on Aquedneck. Providence still attracted admirers of Williams, and erratic individuals of peculiar religious views enjoyed there the spirit of toleration, although they did not extend it to each other. One of these difficult persons threw the little town into the tumult of a free fight in heaven's name — after which Governor Williams himself came to the conclusion that the peace must be kept by the arm of the law. The disturbers were arrested and sent to England; but immediately there was another outbreak against the new laws. Williams performed the painful duty of arraigning its leader, his old companion William Harris, for high treason, and putting him under bonds for good behaviour. But this gave such general offence that at the next election, in 1657, the father of free-conscience democracy was replaced in the governorship by Benedict Arnold, who, by the way, was the owner of the old mill at Newport, so long believed to be a monument of the Vikings. Arnold's father was the leader of the Pawtuxet purchasers who appealed to Massachusetts against Gorton, and placed themselves under its jurisdiction, starting the first long chain of the Narragansett settlers' troubles; his great-grandson was Benedict Arnold, the traitor of the Revolution.

The Quakers, persecuted by other New England colonies, naturally found refuge on the Narragansett. Massachusetts warned Governor Arnold in 1657, "We apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider what provision God may call us to make to prevent the aforesaid mischief." The reply was

polite, but mentioned that "freedom of different consciences to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter"—"which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world," but the Narragansett colony was willing to refer any difficulties created by the Quakers to the authorities in England; which was the last thing the Bay wanted to do. A letter was sent to Clarke in England, saying:

"For the present we have no just cause to charge them [the Quakers] with the breach of the civil peace. . . . Have an eye and ear open in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted to us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbours about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty."

In 1661, the first Yearly Meeting of Friends in America was held in this colony.

After Oliver Cromwell's death, Clarke presented a loyal address from his Assembly to the Lord Protector's son Richard, apparently the only notice taken in New England of that unfortunate young man's succession to his father's uncrowned kingship. Yet, when the Commonwealth fell, Clarke also obtained the favour of Charles II., reporting that his people had declared the Restoration, and ordered

their writs to run in his Majesty's name — as the neighbouring colonies did not until alarmed for their safety. The Assembly respectfully appealed for a royal charter, explaining, "It is much in our hearts to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with full liberty of religious concerns." Clarke presented their tolerations and their sufferings in shining contrast to the arrogance and persecutions for which Massachusetts was daily sinking deeper in royal displeasure. The Friends, whose cause was represented successfully at Court by the gifted Edward Burroughs, had received hospitality on the Narragansett with liberty "to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions," and had converted many of the most respected settlers, some of whom had suffered at the hands of Massachusetts. Indeed the beautiful Mistress Mary Dyer had been their victim so lately as the week of the King's joyful return to England. Her husband, a founder and leading officer of Rhode Island, who had left Massachusetts of his own will, had written an appealing letter to the authorities, as loving husbands, for the life of a wife "most dearly beloved"; but as she would not renounce her faith as a Friend they had hanged her, on Boston Common, surrounded by militia to keep back the crowd determined to rescue her. Lord Clarendon had promised Clarke a charter for his settlements and the western shore of the bay for twenty-five miles to the Pawcatuck River, when the King included that in his extensive patents and liberal charter to Connecticut.

This territory between the Pawcatuck and the Narragansett had been settled by an association named the Atherton Land Company, from Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, and incorporated by the General Court of Massachusetts. They had bought the Indians' title, but jurisdiction had been claimed by the colonies on both sides in many and hateful quarrels. Arbitrators had met and parted; the settlers themselves had petitioned to be under Connecticut, but the smaller colony would not yield its claims to the soil. As soon as Winthrop saw that the question was likely to endanger the prize he had so lately won for Connecticut, he made an ambiguous agreement with Clarke, afterward repudiated by Connecticut, but sufficing for the moment to make all appear smooth before Clarendon and the King.

On July 8, 1663, his Majesty gave Clarke a charter yet more liberal and more precise than Connecticut's, and anything "in a late grant to . . . Connecticut . . . in anywise notwithstanding," bounded the territory on the west by the Pawcatuck River and a line thence due north to the Massachusetts border. The story of Connecticut tells how this boundary was disputed for nearly seventy years. On the other side, matter for still longer dispute with New Plymouth and Massachusetts was furnished in the declaration that the Rhode Islanders' limit was to be "three English miles to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of Narragansett Bay."

The instrument which chartered "a body corpo-

rate and politic in fact and in name by the name of the Governor and Company of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in America," authorised the colony's own painfully developed government, wholly controlled by popular election and vested in a governor, deputy-governor, ten assistants, and deputies from the towns. It asserted, to the world's amazement, that

"all and every person may freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments . . . they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the injury or outward disturbance of others."

No oath of allegiance was required; the laws were to be agreeable to those of England, and "to the constitution of the place and the nature of the people." The towns had the right to admit freemen, and all freemen had joint interests in the common lands of their respective towns. Moreover, by this charter the inhabitants of this colony were declared by his Majesty free to pass unharmed through other colonies and to trade with such of their people as were willing to do so, the regulations of their governments "to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

Great was the joy in every village and farm on the Narragansett over the arrival of George Baxter, "the most faythful and happie bringer of the charter." Portsmouth and Newport held a "solemn reception of his Majesty's gracious letters patent,"

in "a very great meeting and assembly," where letters from Dr. Clarke "were opened and read with good delivery and attention." Then the charter was carefully taken from its box, and "read by Baxter, in the audience and view of all the people; and the letters with his Majesty's royal stamp and the broad seal, with much befitting gravity were held upon high, and presented to the perfect view of the people." Unanimous votes of thanks were passed to "King Charles of England, for his high and inestimable, yea incomparable favour"; to the Lord High Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, for his "exceeding great care and love"; and using Bancroft's eulogy, not theirs, "to the modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy, who, during a twelve years' mission, had sustained himself by his own exertions and a mortgage on his estate." The gratitude did not take the form of reimbursing this benefactor. Several times the Assembly vainly laid a tax to raise perhaps £400 to enable the good doctor to lift the mortgage on his home in Newport. Providence and Warwick objected, Warwick sending such "an angry remonstrance" that Williams wrote the town a letter, "exhorting it to more becoming behaviour"; but the train-band voted the letter as "pernicious . . . tending to stir up strife," and when the Assembly made another appeal to them their document was received with still greater indignation, declared to be "full of uncivil language, as if it had been indicted in Hell"; and the town clerk was ordered to

“put it on a file where impertinent papers should be kept for the future, to the end that those persons who had not learned in the school of good manners how to speak to men in the language of sobriety, if they were sought for, might there be found.”

This was but one of many disturbances, which were even more serious in Providence, upon every effort of the Assembly to pay the colony's debt to Clarke, “whose whole life was a continued exercise of benevolence.” The first generation of the free-conscience democracies never found the happy medium between liberty and licence. They were the sowers. The next generation reaped a well-ordered freedom, largely through the spread of the Friends' peaceful doctrines, which gradually prevailed over their ranting and quaking.

This time the people were not slow to make use of their charter privileges. Reorganisation was mostly a matter of form. Arnold was re-elected as Governor. Then, for the last time, Roger Williams, who had gradually withdrawn from public life, was recalled to serve on the first Board of Assistants. Bancroft says:

“This charter of government establishing a political system which few besides the Rhode Islanders themselves then believed to be practicable, remained in existence till it became the oldest constitutional charter in the world. . . . Hardly thought to contain checks enough on the power of the people to endure even among shepherds and farmers, it protected a dense population [which increased forty-fold in one hundred

and seventy years] and the accumulations of a widely extended commerce. Nowhere in the world were life, liberty, and property safer than in Rhode Island."

His Majesty's special commissioners, who arrived in 1665, found this the only Assembly in New England which had nothing to fear from their visit, the only people who could meet their King's men with a frank and cordial welcome. They yielded without hesitation to the commissioners sitting over them as a Court of Appeal, acting as arbitrators in the boundary disputes, and fulfilling all his Majesty's directions. Yet the newly-chartered planters were not afraid to show conscientious scruples about taking the oath of allegiance asked by the commissioners, and yielded only to "an engagement of fidelity and due obedience to the laws, as a condition of exercising the elective franchise"; even this was soon repealed, because it was irksome to the Quakers. The commissioners, on their part, must have found this a pleasant variation from the cold and politic suavity of the other colonies. To favour these loyal subjects, they willingly checked the Massachusetts aggressions on the one hand, while on the other they declared that the Atherton land was not a part of Connecticut. With no right to do so, they erected it and rebellious settlers at Wickford into the King's Province, in virtue of the Narragansett tribes' formal submission to the Crown through Gorton some twenty years before, placing it "provisionally" under the jurisdiction of the Rhode Island and Narragansett Colony. The right to per-

manent control was not secure until after sixty-five years of bitter quarrels with Connecticut, on the ground and in the English courts.

The Assembly in an address to the King made a flattering acknowledgment of the commissioners' services, and his Majesty's officers were equally cordial in setting forth Narragansett loyalty in the report, which, true or false, had great effect on the history of New England. In the ten years following the royal commissioners' visit, the government was chiefly in the hands of the leading founders and others who had adopted the Friends' faith. Nicholas Easton was Governor or Deputy-Governor for eight years, Coddington for three. When George Fox found it "laid upon him from the Lord to visit the plantations in America," this was the only part of New England into which he ventured; and here "the truth had good reception."

In 1675, when Philip, the sachem of the Wampanoags, started a general war of the natives of New England upon the white men by an attack on New Plymouth, this colony, believing that his quarrel was with the Puritans, held itself neutral. But it suffered heavily. Philip's stronghold, Mount Hope (now a part of Bristol), was in the strip of country which New Plymouth would not concede, even on the King's patents, to Rhode Island; and the Wampanoags, in their destructive raids, did not stop to think which of the rival colonies had made a settlement before they fired it. Still worse, the Massachusetts people in December made their attack on the great fort of the Narragansetts, in the King's Province,—within what

is now the town of South Kingston, and after that short and terrible campaign, which razed the fort and broke up the last great nation of New England Indians, the neutral colony was made use of as a hospital for many weeks. The next summer it was in the neighbourhood of the Plymouth border that Philip was tracked and killed by Captain Church. During this great struggle between the two races, Warwick was destroyed entirely; many buildings in Providence were burned, while smaller places suffered as severely as in the fighting colonies. Nearly all the men were called upon to defend their homes; the colony was obliged to set up costly defences; by day and night, says Palfrey, only keeping it "against the prowling savages by a circle of patrol boats, constantly in motion." But they sent no troops to the war.

The figure of Roger Williams, which had been seen but rarely for many years, disappears for ever a few years after Philip's War.

With all Charles II.'s favour toward his subjects on Narragansett Bay, he made no exception of their trade in the duties laid by the Navigation Acts; nor did his harsh brother when he became James II., although the government proclaimed him with great solemnity, praying for the "benign shines of his favour on his poor colony." The "shines of his favour" were more for Randolph, who reported that they violated the Navigation Laws, raised money by illegal impositions upon the inhabitants, denied appeals to the King, required no oath of magistrates or legislators, made laws contrary to

those of England, and refused to allow the latter to be pleaded in their courts. The result was a writ of *quo warranto*. Assembly and people appealed in vain to the conscience of James II. for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II. of blessed memory." Even the King's Province was taken from them after the provisional government of New England was formed under the distrusted son of Massachusetts, Joseph Dudley, who went thither himself, setting up his offices and changing the names of the settlements. The rightful authorities followed him and declared themselves again, but the next thing they knew, their whole territory was under the new government of the Dominion of New England. The Governor, Andros, after sending in vain, came himself, and although the charter was not formally vacated, he set up his own government, and broke the colony's seal. But in the next year or so the colonists had only a slight and wholesome taste of autocratic rule, which enforced such quiet obedience to law and order as they had never before known. Bancroft says that "the Quaker grandees" were represented as such devoted royalists that they did not even desire a restoration of the charter. But, in fact, after news came of the rebellions against King and Governor-General, "on May-day, the usual election day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport" and declared, "We take it to be our duty to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." They reinstated the officers whom Andros had displaced, excepting the Governor. Walter Clarke

"wavered," and after some delay his place was filled by the "more than octogenarian," Henry Bull, one of the old Antinomian founders, who had become a Friend.

A few years later, the Assembly was asked if the toleration of Rhode Island would be extended to Jews, and answered: "We declare that they may expect as good protection here as any stranger, not being of our nation, residing among us ought to have." The first company of Jews arrived in 1655.* They whose race for two centuries "from the time of their expulsion from Spain had had no safe resting place, entered the harbour of Newport to find equal protection, and in a few years to build a house of God for a Jewish congregation."

William and Mary were proclaimed with great joy, but when his Majesty attempted to put the militia of this colony, as well as that of Connecticut, under Governor Phips of Massachusetts and afterwards under Governor Fletcher of New York, quite as resolute a resistance was made here as in the larger colony, and the King, advised by the Crown counsel, gave up the attempt, securing these two unfriendly neighbours in the largest liberty enjoyed by any subjects of the British Crown. As for the war against the French, the Governor wrote to the King that it was impossible to obtain the necessary money to furnish the quota of troops requested to aid New York, but there was no trouble in fitting out privateers.

* Daly's, *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*. Edited by Max J. Kohler.

These were a sea-faring people perforce, for the obtaining of their food, and their traffic with the natives and with each other required them to be expert mariners, and the superiority of their ship-building compelled the patronage of their Puritan enemies. More than all this, as Mr. Gay says,

" when the tortuous channel and shallow flats of Boston Harbour were covered with miles of solid ice, when the bay of New York was a firm roadway from [the] fort . . . to Staten Island, the mighty current of the Gulf Stream kept open this harbour at a central point in the long coast-line of the colonies, not only as a refuge for the small vessels of the lively American trade, but where 'lawful privateers in time of war could . . . easily refit, . . . run in with their prizes, or land their plunder. More than once during those years, when a Frenchman was seen in the offing, a well-manned ship hurried out of Newport harbour in pursuit, and after a gallant fight sailed back again with a prize in tow.' When the war was over, and privateers turned pirates the 'court of admiralty was not always mindful of nice inquiries as to manifests and bills of lading, even if the legal existence of the court itself was beyond question.' "

The Lords of Trade sternly called the colony to account for their bay's notoriety as the hiding-place for every black flag on the coast, but soon were still more indignant over their "shuffling" defence, and wrote, "Your letters are so contrary to truth and to your duty we wonder how you could write them." But the people never reformed.

In 1697, the responsibilities of the governorship, which had been shifted from so many shoulders, were assumed by the able and constant Samuel Cranston, and carried for three decades. Palfrey says that he put an end to the "Quaker Dynasty"; but some of the Governor's contemporaries declared that he was a "demi-Quaker, only put in to serve the Quakers." Certainly he was not there to make his fortune out of his salary, which ranged from £10 to £30 a year. The deputy-governor received £6 a year; assistants £4, and were fined six shillings for each day's absence from duty, while deputies to the General Assembly received three shillings for each day's service. There was much trouble in the collection of taxes even to support this modest scale of public expenditure. The laws were so "meanly kept and in such blotted and defaced books (having never yet any of them been printed), that few of his Majesty's subjects were able to know what they were."

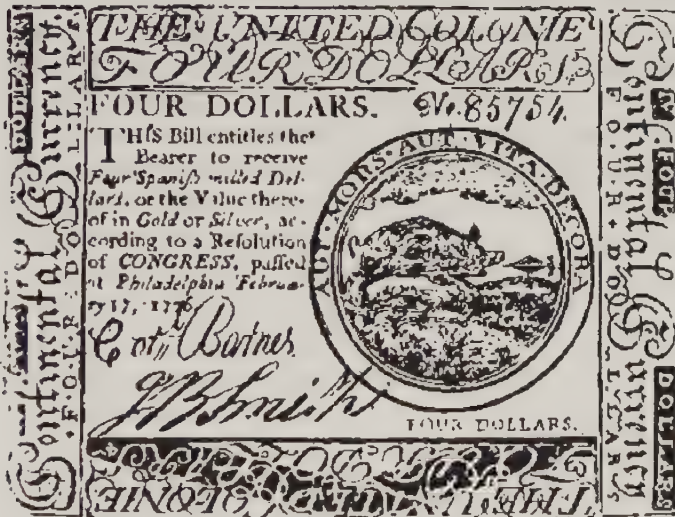
When Lord Bellomont was sent out in 1669 for his extensive governorship over the royal provinces from the Delaware to the St. Croix, he was authorised also to attend to the "disorders and irregularities" on the Narragansett. After ten days' visit of investigation to the "infamous bay," "under more than twenty heads he specified departures by its government and people from the provisions of their charter." He said:

"The place has been greatly enriched" by piratical expeditions of "private men-of-war to Madagaska and

the seas of India." Their agent in England though "one of their Council, yet keeps a little blind rum-house where the Indians are his best customers." The Deputy-Governor was "a brutish man of very corrupt or no principles in religion, and generally known to be so by the people. . . . Assistants and Councillors who are also Justices of the Peace and Judges of their Courts, are generally sectaries, . . . of little or no capacity, several of them not able to write their names. . . . Their General Attorney is a poor illiterate mechanic, very ignorant. . . . They have never erected nor encouraged any schools of learning, or had the means of instruction of a learned orthodox ministry. . . . The generality of the people are shamefully ignorant, and all manner of licentiousness and profaneness does greatly abound and is indulged."

After his lordship's departure the government wrote "letters of profuse and awkward compliment" to appease him in behalf, they said, of "an ignorant and contemptible" people. They also hastened to pass an "Act for supporting the Governor in the performance of his engagement to the Acts of Navigation." But they did not mend their ways, and the unloved Governor Dudley of Massachusetts abused them roundly during Queen Anne's reign. Her war allowed privateering again, and Dudley had express orders to appoint their Admiralty officers as well as to command their militia. They gladly took out letters of marque, but would do nothing afield. Although, Dudley said, they had two thousand men under arms and some "men of very good estates, ability, and loyalty," kept out of the government by

the Quakers, he could not induce them to do anything until the French Indians' attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts, in May, 1704, had sent a shock of compassionate terror through the country. Then some volunteers went into the conflict, the Assembly providing for their pay. The next year they raised a company of forty-eight men, and authorised



the Governor to march them into "neighbouring governments, as necessity might require." They sent a vessel and eighty volunteers to the expedition against Acadie in 1707, furnished two hundred men for the expedition which was not made against Canada in 1710, and raised another force for the next fiasco in 1711. The expense was met by bills of credit, from which this colony suffered more heavily and longer than any other. "There was

some intelligent distrust," says Palfrey, "and a short suspension of the process; but it was presently revived, and paper money continued to be made . . . down to the year of the framing of the Constitution of the United States."

Meantime, Dudley had a hard time over their Admiralty courts. He said he "could obtain nothing of them but stubborn refusal, saying they would lose all at once, and not by pieces." When the Admiralty Judge whom he appointed refused to condemn a French prize brought in by a Rhode Island privateer, he "was hooted down the street without any notice being taken by any in the government." Much more he wrote while hatching the conspiracy with Lord Cornbury to bring the charter governments under the Crown; an ambitious work which recoiled upon themselves, especially through Connecticut's defence. In the reports from the colonies called for by the Queen, we have the Rhode Islanders' first description of themselves. Then, seventy years after it was founded, the colony numbered 8,800 persons, 1,500 of them freemen, and over 1,300 in the militia. Some four hundred and eighty were servants, about sixty blacks, of whom a few were imported yearly from Barbadoes, and none directly from Africa. There were two counties.

The towns of Jamestown on Conanicut Island, New Shoreham, Newport, and Portsmouth were in Rhode Island County; Providence, Greenwich, and Waring in the county of Providence Plantations, besides Wickford, Kingston, and Westerly in the King's Province. The Queen was dead and George

I. on the throne before a grammar school was established at Newport and a schoolhouse built at Portsmouth, but nearly twenty years passed before education was encouraged at Providence by the use of "one of the chambers of the county house" on condition that the schoolmaster should keep "the glass in constant good repair" and erect "a handsome sundial in the front of said house, both for ornament and use."

When it was found, during the nominal peace of George I.'s time, that the Treaty of Utrecht did not keep the French Indians from harassing Maine and New Hampshire, and Governor Shute of Massachusetts asked for money and men to quell them, the Rhode Island Assembly appointed "a committee to enquire into the merits of the case." After two years they reported that,

"although the said Indian rebels deserved nothing but a total extirpation from the face of the earth for their continual and repeated rebellions, hostilities, and perfidiousness, yet it would be by no means justifiable in the colony of Rhode Island to join with the province of Massachusetts in the prosecution of said war, as things were at present circumstanced" for the reasons,—that Rhode Island did its part towards maintaining the common defence by maintaining the maritime frontier, that the King's pleasure ought to be known, "who in his great wisdom might find out and prescribe ways to make those wild and inaccessible subjects of his come in and tamely submit to his government," that Rhode Island was never advised with by the province of Massachusetts, but had made its own treaties and trade, and it was not

for them to "buy for the Massachusetts this privilege with the blood of their young and strong."

They wrote, however, to Governor de Vaudreuil of Canada that they would enter the war if he did not desist from his intrigues with the savages.

When, at length, the laws were to be straightened out of their "very disordered condition" and printed, "several persons . . . of the body politic scrupled to take an engagement where the words 'as in the presence of God' is in, whereby the corporation was much hurt for want of their service in the same"; so the oath was not required. Another entry shows that fine, whipping, and imprisonment were ordered for persons "putting into the hat, two, three or more votes for one officer, at the general elections and other town elections." For religious freedom the law was, "what maintenance or salary may be thought needful by any churches, congregations or societies . . . may be raised by a free contribution, and no other ways."

Congregations of the Established Church were formed at Newport and Providence in about the middle of George I.'s reign. Their historians afterwards named this as the introduction of Christianity into the colony, saying, "the people were negligent of all religion until about 1722; the very best were such as called themselves Baptists or Quakers." The warders of the free conscience democracies kept an eye on the Anglicans, with reason. The Newport church within a couple of years was informing the

King that "The religious and loyal principles of passive obedience and non-resistance are upon all suitable occasions strongly asserted and inculcated upon your Majesty's good subjects in this church."

By that time, the General Assembly was not so imbued with soul-liberty that it could uphold the Sabbatarians of Westerly, founders of the Seventh Day Baptists; but warned them to cease their

"continual practice of doing servile labour on the first day of the week, appointed by the law of the realm as well as of the colony . . . to be kept as a sabbath . . . considering that, though the ordinances of men may not square with . . . private principles, yet they must be subject to them for the Lord's sake, and that, lest they incur the further displeasure of this Assembly, and put them upon a more rigorous method of suppressing the aforesaid enormities."

A departure from pure democracy was also made about this time by limiting the vote to men possessing a freehold valued at £100, or an annual income of £2 from real estate. A freeman's oldest son shared his father's privilege. This law stood until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century.

Governor Cranston's long administration came to an end with his death in 1727. In the same year George II. became King, and during the first part of his long reign three more governors died in office, Joseph Jenckes, William Wanton, and his brother John Wanton. They were followed by William Greene, Gideon Wanton, Stephen Hopkins, and Samuel Ward; the last two keeping the chair in

irregular rotation through most of the important time when the King was drawing the cords tighter around colonial liberties. The good Jenckes's five years' service closed in the midst of his brave fight with the Assembly against the issue of more paper money. In a vain effort to save the colony from increasing its financial distress, he had appealed to England; but the Crown lawyers gave the opinion that by the charter, which then had been in existence some seventy years, "no negative voice was given to the governor" nor was "any power reserved to the Crown of approving or disapproving the laws," whose validity depended on nothing but their being "as near as might be, agreeable to the laws of England, regard being had to the nature and constitution of the place and the people."

It was not the only decision in favour of these colonists during this reign. On both sides they won long-standing boundary fights. That with Connecticut was settled in 1728 upon the Pawcatuck River line named in the Rhode Island charter. In 1741, Massachusetts also had to yield to the charter, giving up five towns. But the Bay still denied the small colony's claim to twice as much territory on the north and east.

In his Majesty's wars a great deal of service was rendered by this population of less than forty thousand people, one tenth of them negroes. The Spanish war offered to the mariners familiar with the West Indies a glorious opportunity to serve the King and enrich themselves in plundering the Spaniards. A small force of volunteers also joined Admiral

Vernon's disastrous expedition to Cartagena. The Assembly informed his Majesty that they had built at Newport "a regular and beautiful fortification of stone, with battery subjoined, where might be conveniently mounted sixty cannon," requesting a royal gift of such ordnance. Against the French, they furnished an armed sloop to help convoy the Connecticut troops for the expedition against Louisbourg, besides three hundred men of their own for the attack, and part of the temporary garrison when the stronghold was taken. They also manned a French prize, two privately armed ships of Newport chartered by Massachusetts, and a number of privateers which captured more than twenty vessels during the futile four years' conflict known as King George's war. These heavy expenses were provided for, but scarcely paid, in the reckless issue of more bills of credit. When the Assembly received over £6,300 as their share of the King's reimbursement for the capture of Louisbourg, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts urged them in vain to follow the prudent measures which Hutchinson had forced his province to adopt. The consequence of their refusal "was that much of her considerable trade left her for Massachusetts," till she was reduced to five thousand tons of shipping and four hundred sailors, and received but two vessels a year direct from England, two from Holland and Spain, and perhaps a dozen from the West Indies. The export trade was valued at £10,000 sterling a year. The modest government cost but £2,000 in the depressed currency.

To the last of the French wars, which soon fol-

lowed, the contributions of this colony for the seven years of exhausting campaigns in the conquest of Canada seem wonderful from such small and poor communities. The population had scarcely increased; but eight out of the forty thousand people were men of military age, and one sixth of them sometimes were under marching orders, while fifteen hundred were at sea in privateers. The Assembly went on issuing paper money so worthless that Massachusetts would not recognise it, and business failure was so common that a general insolvency law was passed. Toward the end of the war, politics ran high on the question of taxation in the elections of Ward and Hopkins. After the peace of 1763, although the new King, George III., announced his determination to force prompt collection of his revenues under the Navigation Acts, "the profitable but risky enterprise of privately armed vessels" was plied without the formality of letters of marque, and with rich returns to the adventurers of the impoverished colony. Mr. Gay says: "Block Island was famous as a rendezvous for sea-rovers, who put in there to recruit, or hovered off shore to intercept some ship worth taking bound in or out." When harsh rebukes were administered by the British government, Governor Hopkins would not acknowledge their justice. Bernard of Massachusetts declared, "these practices will never be put an end to till Rhode Island is reduced to the subjection of the British Empire, of which at present it is no more a part than the Bahama Islands when they were inhabited by the buccaneers."

In the alarm over the Sugar Act, the Assembly made a protest to the Board of Trade, giving this picture of their state :

" Not a much larger extent of territory than about thirty miles square; and of this a great part is barren soil, not worth the expense of cultivation. The number of souls in it amount to forty-eight thousand, of which . . . Newport and Providence contain near one third. The colony hath no staple commodity for exportation, and does not raise provisions sufficient for its own consumption. . . . The quantity of goods of every kind imported from Great Britain . . . annually . . . amount at least to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. . . . The only articles produced in the colony suitable for remittance to Europe consist of some flax and oil, and some few ships built for sale, the whole amounting to about five thousand pounds sterling per annum." To make up this difference of £20,000, the people's only resource was exportation to foreign ports. "Lumber, cheese . . . horses . . . and fish of an inferior quality" were sold to advantage in the West Indies. The year before this writing "there were one hundred and eighty-four sail of vessels bound on . . . voyages . . . to Europe, Africa, and the West Indies; and three hundred and fifty-two sail . . . in the coasting trade . . . between Georgia and Newfoundland inclusive; which, with the fishing vessels, were navigated by at least twenty-two hundred seamen. Of these . . . vessels about one hundred and fifty were annually employed in the West India trade, which import into this colony about fourteen thousand hogsheads of molasses, whereof . . . not

exceeding twenty-five hundred . . . come from all the English islands together." This chiefly paid for the English imports; some of it, sold to the other colonies, some distilled into rum and carried to the coast of Africa, where it had driven French brandy out of the market for "slaves, gold dust, elephants' teeth, camwood, etc." Most of these articles were taken directly to Europe, while the slaves were sold "in the English islands, in Carolina and Virginia for bills of exchange" on London. The proposed Sugar Act would paralyse this trade in a colony under a debt of nearly £70,000 for the expenses of the recent war alone, would close "upwards of thirty distil-houses, erected at a vast expense . . . ruin many families, and our trade in general, particularly to the coast of Africa. Two thirds of our vessels will become useless, and perish upon our hands; our mechanics and those who depend upon the merchant for employment must seek for subsistence elsewhere; . . . a nursery of seamen . . . will be in a manner destroyed; and as an end will be put to our commerce, the merchants cannot support any more British manufactures, nor will the people be able to pay for those they have already received."

As this remonstrance availed nothing, the people undertook to defend themselves. His Majesty's cruisers detailed to enforce the law had more than their match in the water-bred sons of the Narragansett. The black looks which were their first salutes rapidly increased to "threats, to open fire from the forts, to riots, and burning the boats of the men-of-war," till more than one royal officer fled for his life, and Parliament made it a capital offence to de-

stroy so much as a boat's oar. Governor Hopkins, by order of the Assembly, refused to give the oath of office to his Majesty's Comptroller of the Revenues at Newport. At Providence a vessel seized for smuggling was rescued and taken to sea by "a parcel of people with blackened faces." Hopkins was reported to have said that "the Parliament of Great Britain had no more right to make laws for them than they had for the Mohawks." Palfrey, suggesting that this was a distortion of some statement by Hopkins, pays him and his colony an unwonted compliment in saying that at this time he "emerged from a cloud of local cabals, which for years had obscured his merit, to take thenceforward a salutary lead of the public opinion and action of his colony." In his *Rights of the Colonies Examined* he expressed in most temperate and logical manner the sentiments which were held by the Newport mob when they rescued a deserter from a revenue ship in the harbour, and by the Assembly which renewed petitions to the home government, while they responded to Massachusetts' call for committees of correspondence and delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York.

Bancroft says that Hopkins "stood alone among the governors in his refusal to take the oath to support the Stamp Act." The Assembly "unanimously directed all officers of the colony to proceed in their duties as usual without regard to it, engaging to "indemnify them and save them harmless." A "convention of the County of Providence" went so far as to resolve to oppose the Act even if

it should tend to the destruction of the relations between America and Great Britain, adopting as a watch-word "A Firm Union of all the Colonies." The stamp distributor, Augustus Johnson, who was the Attorney-General, lost no time in declaring that he would not "execute his office against the will of our sovereign lord, the people"; but his effigy, with those of two others of suspicious patriotism, was dragged about Newport on a hurdle, hanged, and burned. Their houses were plundered, and they, together with the revenue officers fled to the shelter of an English man-of-war in the harbour.

In these troubled times a college to educate young men for the Baptist ministry was founded at Warren, though afterwards removed to Providence, and seven students were graduated at the first commencement in 1769.

After the Stamp Act was repealed, the resisting colonists were no better satisfied with the remaining acts taxing their commerce. Their Chief Justice gave the opinion "that any person who should come into the colony and exercise any authority by force of arms, without showing his commission to the Governor, and, if a custom-house officer, without being sworn into his office, was guilty of a trespass if not piracy." The bay was patrolled by the royal cruiser the *Gaspée*, under the command of Lieutenant Dudingston, who, says Bancroft, "insulted the inhabitants, plundered the islands of sheep and hogs, cut down trees, fired at market boats, detained vessels without a colourable pretext, and made illegal seizures of goods of which the recovery cost more



than they were worth." On complaint by Providence, Governor Hopkins sent a sheriff on board to ask under what authority the vessel was acting, and was referred to the Admiralty Judge, who answered from Boston, "As sure as the people of Newport attempt to rescue any vessel . . . I will hang them as pirates." Soon afterward, in the summer of 1772, the Providence packet, passing the *Gaspée* without dipping her flag as Dudingston had demanded, and immediately being chased, ran inshore, but she soon sped on to Providence with the news that the enemy was aground off Namquit. The tide fell, and night came on while the leading men of the town, well armed, in some half a dozen boats, rowed down and boarded the stranded cutter, sent her company with their personal property ashore, wounding Dudingston in the scuffle, and then turned the *Gaspée* into a roaring bonfire.

This raised a storm in England. Lord Sandwich, at the head of the British Admiralty, declared that he would pursue the colony until its charter was destroyed. A large reward was offered for the perpetrators of the deed, and a board of inquiry appointed; but not one was ever disturbed, though the whole affair was an open secret.

The majority were determined upon resistance at every point. While almost any batch of citizens could be depended upon for such spirited acts as this, the colony which had never won a laurel for self-government now undertook systematic measures, stripping Fort George in Newport Harbour of

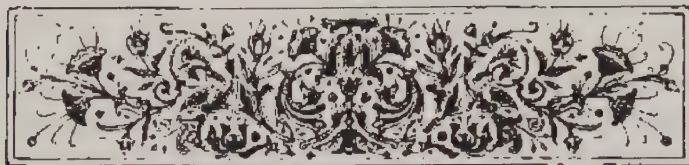
materials that his Majesty's officers might wish to seize, distributing them and other arms and ammunition in different hiding places, enrolling volunteers, and otherwise reforming the militia. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the Quaker, Nathanael Greene, led three excellently equipped regiments to the American army which besieged the British in Boston. The Assembly sent delegates to the Continental Congress, and while that body was discussing the pros and cons of reconciliation, declared that as George III., regardless of the compact between him and his colonial subjects, had undertaken to compel them "to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny," it "becomes our highest duty to use every means which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exercised only for our destruction."

They voted a repeal of their "Act for the more effectually securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this colony"; that "the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this colony" should be substituted for those of the King "in all commissions for officers, in writs and in all processes of law"; and that "no instrument in writing, public or private, shall in the date thereof, mention the year of the said King's reign."

At the end of the session, instead of the formula "God save the King," the clerk wrote "God save the United Colonies." In this wise, in May, 1776, the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, before

any other colony, declared their absolute independence of the British Crown. The royal charter was the constitution of the State of Rhode Island for over half a century.





CHAPTER XIII

NORTH CAROLINA, ELEVENTH COLONY—THE MOST INDEPENDENT OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

THE bay which contained the famous Roanoke Island, where Englishmen, in 1584, made their first ill-fated effort to colonise the New World, was not settled until nearly half a century afterward, and then by obscure Virginians, who neither knew nor cared that they were making the beginning of the eleventh colony among the Thirteen. A stretch of country, possessing as many of nature's gifts as any place on the seaboard, rebuffed all visitors from the sea by an outwork of nearly two hundred miles of rarely broken sand-bars, enclosing vast arms of the ocean, wide but exceedingly shallow; while like an inner defence upon the coast of the mainland lay long reaches of pine barrens and deep and deadly swamps.

But there were fertile parts, and one of them on the upper bay was at length occupied by a flank movement, overland or by river from Virginia. That was nearly ten years before Charles II. erected the region between Virginia and the Spaniards'

Florida into the palatinate of Carolina, and almost fifty years before the name of North Carolina was heard. About the year 1653 the green shores and landlocked, sand-barred bays of what was afterwards called Albemarle Sound were first settled as part of Virginia. The faint glimmerings of light upon these obscure beginnings are barely sufficient to pique the student's curiosity. Almost the only memorable thing concerning them was that they were, perhaps, the only saplings of a new plantation that sprang up during the Commonwealth. At that time, when Virginia was nearer to an enlightened democracy than at any other period in colonial history, it was common for restless traders and members of the ill-supported and ill-disciplined clergy to go off and make isolated plantations, saying perhaps that they wished to avoid the Puritan element which the Commonwealth fostered in the ancient dominion—a reason admitting of more than one construction. Good men did the same thing. No one knows to which class belonged Roger Greene, a clergyman of the Puritan district of Nansemond, who, in 1653, obtained from the Virginia Assembly the grant of a thousand acres about the mouth of the Chowan River, or Passamagnus, and began his plantation with a hundred men. As distance went in those days, the journey was a comparatively short and easy one, and was probably made down the Chowan River, which is now one of the boundaries of Nansemond. These people apparently left no records of their own, and the Virginia chronicles seldom did more than give them a passing refer-

ence. The Assembly, anxious to fix their claim upon the region, after about eight years gave another grant to George Duren or Durant, commonly supposed to have been a Quaker. He "did for the space of two years bestow much labour and cost in finding out the said country," making a settlement and giving his name to Durant's Neck. Among other shadowy figures of this period was one named Edward Catchmaid or Cathmaid, who is said to have been entrusted by Durant with power to do business in the Virginia Assembly concerning grants, but who treacherously took out patents in his own name and led forth a colony of some sixty persons, with negro slaves.

They were too far from the "cities" of the Old Dominion to know or to care what was going on in England; but they learned after a time that the Commonwealth had fallen, that royalty had been restored, and — what came nearer home — that his new Majesty, Charles II., had set up the great province of Carolina, between the thirty-sixth parallel and the River St. John. It overlapped Virginia on the north and encroached on the Spaniards' Florida on the south. This vast province was made a palatinate and presented to eight proprietors, whose names seem to belong more properly to South Carolina, though they made little enough impression there. One of them was Sir William Berkeley, who had been restored to his former place as royal Governor of Virginia. With a lordly disregard for the detail that the Chowan country was north of the thirty-sixth parallel, Berkeley was asked

by his fellow-proprietors to send the settlers there a palatine governor and council, empowered to call a representative government. He sent the freedom-loving Scot, William Drummond, "a man of prudence and popularity," who stayed with the settlers for four years, and then returned to Virginia, where he helped to raise Bacon's Rebellion and was hanged for it. Berkeley was asked to get more colonists "cheaply if possible, but get them at any rate." The plantation was soon enlarged by several companies. Some were from Virginia, some from New England; and a good-sized party of ship-builders from Bermuda set up their cabins and their ways on the Pasquotank River some distance east of the Chowan, along the north shore of the sound.

Drummond, with six councillors and the freemen of the plantation, met before the end of 1663 in the first "Parliament" of what the proprietors called Albemarle County of Carolina. They framed a few laws, chiefly to insure liberty of conscience and an easy tenure of land, and changed the name of the Chowan River to Albemarle in honour of the senior proprietor, George Monk, who had been made Duke of Albemarle for his services in bringing about the restoration of Charles II. Afterwards this name was extended to the sound. The planters decreed that no "transient persons" should be allowed to share the Indian trade with the Tuscaroras or other neighbouring tribes. Every inducement was held out for newcomers, from non-taxation for the first year of settlement to promises of protection for five years against debts and suits "on any cause of

action outside of the boundary." Title to land was assured in this "sanctuary of runaways" after two years of "respectable residence"! Roger Greene had either died, removed, or given up his clerical character, for there were said to be no clergymen in the colony. Matrimonial respectability was secured by the simple avowal of the contracting parties before the Governor and Council and a few acquaintances. The Virginians called the settlement "Rogues' Harbour," and for many generations it was the refuge of nearly all the "mean whites" who could escape from the older colony and from its stigma on labour, poverty, and low birth. This little democracy voted that their laws should stand, if approved by the lord proprietors, until their worships could prepare a complete form of government, the planters little knowing that the proprietors promised themselves and the restored king, that their province should be "agreeable to monarchy," and "avoid the erecting of a numerous democracy."

His Majesty, by a new charter in 1665, added half a degree to Carolina on the northern boundary, so as to include the Albemarle settlements. After two years, in which the colonists enjoyed the privilege of governing themselves, the proprietors sent out Samuel Stephens with authority to choose his own council and to call for twelve deputies, to be chosen by a vote of all the free men until the country should have colonists enough to send two deputies from each "denizen, tribe, or parish." These deputies, calling themselves a parliament,

framed, in 1669, a simple constitution and laws, which are the beginning of North Carolina's authentic legislative records. Under them the colonists were governed for more than half a century, and in defiance of the proprietors' many efforts to induce them to accept the " Fundamental Constitutions " and " Grand Model " of government prepared by the Earl of Shaftesbury and the philosopher, John Locke. This celebrated scheme, with its Carolinian nobility, which made the fame of Locke, was never accepted by the scattering population of fishermen, ship-builders, tobacco-raisers, and traders barely making their living on the Albemarle; and less attempt was made to force it on them than on the settlers who at about this time began what afterwards was South Carolina.

The northern and southern plantations in the province had nothing to do with each other. The proprietors wished to establish intercourse and a common government, but the Albemarle " seaters " had a monopoly in the fur trade with the Indians in the peninsula of Pamlico Sound, and preferred that the Charles Town planters should attend to their own affairs. Moreover, all the conditions of these northerly settlers conspired to hedge them in. Not only were many of them fugitives from the justice of other colonies, but they were isolated from the sea by long stretches of shallow water which had few inlets, while on nearly all the landward sides they were surrounded by deadly swamps and dense forests. George Fox, the Friend, when on his missionary tour through the colonies, found that it

took much courage to traverse " the great bogs " of the Dismal Swamp. Often he was obliged to lie " abroad a-nights in the woods by a fire " until he came to the first frontier cabin, whose master gave him the best hospitality he could offer, a mat by the hearth. Fox said the people lived " lonely in the woods " with only watch-dogs to guard their solitary houses. Every plantation was on the sound and the adjacent inlets; the waters were the highways, boats and light skiffs the only means of carriage. Sometimes the way from one plantation to another was blazed through the forests. Fox found the people " generally tender and open." He had " much ado " to reach the house " of the Chief Secretary of the province," who " had been formerly convinced "; his boat grounded in the shallow channel approaching the plantation, but the Secretary's wife seeing the mishap, put out in a canoe and brought him safely to her hospitable door. Governor Stephens and his wife received Fox " lovingly," making him remain as long as they could.

After Stephens's death, the parliament elected to his place their speaker, George Cartwright, or Carteret, as some call him, making it seem possible that he was the troublesome son of one of the proprietors of Carolina and of New Jersey,—and that the young scapegrace had come hither after the pleasures he had taken in Elizabeth Town at the expense of his cousin Philip, the Governor. Whoever he was, he served at most two years and then resigned, leaving the government in " ill-order and worse hands." So said the Cavaliers of Virginia,

who had small liking for the dare-devil, self-reliant community that had sprung from the loins of their commonwealth. Some said that it was aiding Drummond in Bacon's Rebellion, and historians declare that it was not by accidental choice that the insurgents chose "Carolina" for their watchword. After Bacon's death, old Governor Berkeley said in his wrath, the "runaways, rogues, and rebels fled daily to Carolina as their common subterfuge and lurking-place," depriving the Governor of many hangings, for the parliament refused to give them up on any account. From a twentieth-century American's point of view, these despised settlers showed a remarkable ability to manage their own affairs in a tumult that was raised, some say, by an attempt to enforce the proprietors' government, but which Mr. Fiske believes to have sprung from resentment over the Navigation Acts. An appeal was sent to the proprietors by Thomas Miller, and one Eastchurch, speaker of the representatives. The proprietors "discoursed with them" and wrote to the parliament, "They have fully satisfied us that the fault was not in you, but in those persons into whose hand we committed the government." To quiet a fear that the hated Berkeley of Virginia was to become sole proprietor of this region, the proprietors promised "not to part with the County of Albemarle to any person, but to maintain the Province of Carolina entire as it was, that they may preserve their independence in English rights and liberties." The settlers' own government was allowed in place of the Grand Model;

Eastchurch was made Governor, the proprietors finding him a "very discreet and worthy man, and much concerned for your prosperity and welfare . . . well instructed in our desires." Miller was made Secretary of the colony. So far all was well. But Charles II. was enforcing his Navigation Acts; even the poverty-stricken, isolated planters of Albemarle must yield their customs duties on any of the "enumerated articles" if they shipped them from their own colony to another, and Miller was appointed his Majesty's collector.

The colony, then near to rounding its first quarter of a century, was the smallest, poorest, and least commercial of any plantation on the coast. It numbered less than three thousand souls; more than one third of them were women, children, negroes, and Indians living with the settlers. Judged by the standard of prosperity in other places, probably not even their largest landholder, the "old seater," George Durant, could be regarded as a rich man. The whole of the "taxables"—persons between sixteen and sixty years of age—raised but some eight hundred thousand pounds of tobacco a year. They grew maize for their own hoe-cake, but none to sell, except, perhaps, a little for the Indians when they were in need. They made some tallow and resin, and had a small trade in hides, deer-skins, and peltries. They had a few cattle and swine which fed themselves in the woods, besides the abundant game of the forests and the fish of their inland seas; but they had little else of their own production, and depended on the few vessels from

Boston and Salem, whose masters were willing to make the roundabout entrance to the sound and call at one plantation after another along the shore to barter all manner of foreign articles for cattle and lumber, which they exchanged in the West Indies for sugar, molasses, and rum. All of these "West India goods" were desired by the planters even more than the foreign articles, and if the ship-master called again on his way home the people would take his cargo and make a good bargain with him, smuggling their payment in tobacco aboard to escape a tax of one penny on every pound. These products, at prices fixed by the parliament, were the colonists' currency, even for their quit-rents to the proprietors, who assigned a certain amount to the officers for salaries. Later, their worships ordered the use of coin, which was a sore grievance and an absurdity, since it was not sent out, and the people had no way of getting it for themselves, except a few handfuls now and then from some New England skipper.

Miller, on his return, held not only his former offices, but also that of Acting-Governor for East-church, who stayed two years in courtship in the island of Nevis. The people now saw the spokesman of their liberties in a new light. When he collected three thousand pounds of customs in their community of barely fifteen hundred "taxables" they were ready for a fight. It came when Miller conceived it his duty, for the suppression of trade with Massachusetts, to arrest a Yankee skipper, Captain Gillam, who had brought a heavily armed schooner into the Pasquotank River, with a large

and most welcome cargo of rum and molasses. The settlers rebelled, finding a leader arrive opportunely in the person of John Culpeper, who had been trusted by the proprietors as Surveyor-General of Carolina, but who had "graduated in sedition" at the southern settlement, and escaped hanging there for "having set the poor people to plunder the rich," and shown himself one of "those very ill men, lovers of popular liberties." Electing him as their Governor, the settlers threw Miller and his Council into jail, "that thereby the country may have a free parliament and may send home their grievances." They called their parliament, appointed new justices, took possession of the public records and of the three thousand pounds of customs, running things their own way for several years. When Governor Eastchurch arrived with his Creole bride, he could do nothing but turn to Virginia, where Governor Chicheley promised him recruits to put down the insurrection; but the unhappy bridegroom did not live to lead them. Then Culpeper was sent to England "to negotiate a compromise" with the proprietors. To his surprise he there met Miller, whom he had left in jail. Both told their tales. The people's grievance was that for eighteen months Miller had hindered a free election, so that no complaints should reach the proprietors. The testimony of friend and foe made him out drunken and violent, if not dishonest. But posing as the abused champion of the Navigation Acts he won the English merchants to his side, and secured Culpeper's arrest for dishonesty, interfering with the customs, and high

treason. But Miller reckoned without Shaftesbury, who was then at the height of his power as Lord Chancellor of the realm. The championship of the colonists' rights by the leading proprietor or palatine of their association, and the sponsor of Locke's "Grand Model of Governments," ensured the sympathy of the English people. The upshot of it all was that the cause of the settlers triumphed, and Culpeper, acquitted on every count, was sent back to follow his profession as surveyor in the southern plantation.

Meanwhile, and for two years longer, the colonists managed their own affairs, under Judge George Durant, a leader against Miller, and always, apparently, their foremost officer and richest planter. The proprietors' Governor was a new associate—a mere fortune-hunter, Seth Sothel; but he, on his way out, was captured and held prisoner for two years by Algerine pirates. It was not until 1683 that he began his five years' government of brutal knavery. Without respect for the living, the dying, or the dead, he took whatever he wanted; and when at length the people faced him with their determination to send him to England, he cried like a baby, begging rather to be tried by their parliament on any charge that they saw fit to make against him. They agreed, brought in an indictment of thirteen specifications, found him guilty of all, and declared him incapable of ever holding office again amongst them, with sentence of twelve months' exile, which he spent in bleeding the southern colony.

After the proprietors heard of his performances

they appointed as Governor-General over both colonies the "upright and able" Philip Ludwell, a well-known royalist of Virginia. After a few years in Albemarle he went to the new capital of Charles Town in the southern settlement to set up his general government; but these northerly planters never sent their representatives. Every change seemed destined to strengthen them in their desire and ability to govern themselves. The proprietors' next step was to give up even a nominal enforcement of the Grand Model, which practically made no change except to remove the great bone of contention and incline the people more agreeably toward their landlords. The "abrogation" was made with great ceremony in England, and the announcement, "as the people have declared that they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the Fundamental Constitutions, it would be for their quiet and the protection of the well disposed to grant their request." The two distant groups of settlements, which the proprietors had distinguished as "Our Colony north-east of Cape Fear" and "Our Colony south-west of Cape Fear," were now called North Carolina and South Carolina.

Up to the close of the century the deputies appointed by Ludwell and other general governors, came and went, scarcely one leaving more than the impress of his name on the records. A notable exception is Henderson Walker, whose term stands out not only for its prosperity and the rare circumstance that the people "enjoyed tranquillity," as

his tombstone testifies, but for the addition of a second county, Bath, made up by a number of new settlements on Pamlico Sound.

During this half century the people had followed their own widely different religious or irreligious views without interference, until, about the time of Governor Walker's death in 1704, a clergyman was sent to call upon them to conform to the Church of England. This was when the bigoted Governor-General, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, sent over his deputy, Colonel Robert Daniel. "Down with Dissent!" cried Daniel. "Down with Daniel!" cried the planters and some of them, who were Quakers, induced Johnson to replace Daniel by one Thomas Carey, who was the man they wanted, or so they thought, until he tried to force Quakers to take the Test Oath. Then one of them was sent to the proprietors, whom he and their gifted Quaker associate, Joseph Archdale, moved to suspend Johnson's authority over North Carolina, to remove Carey, to agree that the Queen's Test Oath did not apply to the colonies, and to secure the planters in religious freedom, although the Church of England was established. By the people's choice William Glover was next in charge; but when he insisted on the oath, the Quakers, led by one Porter, dickered with Carey, who had come to the conclusion that he would rather give up the oath than the governorship. The situation became decidedly animated—with two Governors, two parliaments, writs flying about like waste paper in a high wind, and some staid colonists who did not like this sort of thing

removing to Virginia "for safety." In 1710, another combatant appeared, a long-delayed Governor from the proprietors, an Edward Hyde, unlike the one known as Lord Cornbury who afflicted New York and New Jersey about this time. As a relative of Queen Anne's grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, he was supposed to be one to inspire awe and "compose differences"; but although he found a goodly portion of the people with him and secured a parliament, many of the free-lances were unimpressed, and upheld Carey in resistance to Hyde's demands for an account of all the public moneys he had used. They were not too Quakerish to have a few armed vessels, and it was soon made clear that the differences could scarcely be composed without military aid. Governor Spotswood of Virginia responded, like the good neighbour that he was. The force bombarded Carey's house, which had long been his castle, till he and his henchmen fled, first to the woods among the Tuscaroras at the head of Pamlico peninsula, and then to Virginia, where he was arrested in the midst of his bragging of how he would make his enemies suffer at the hands of the proprietors. Spotswood sent him to their worships on a charge of treason, and he was thankful that lack of evidence enabled him to slip through their hands without trial, and find oblivion in the West Indies.

Happier pictures were made on Pamlico Sound by the French Huguenots who settled Bath, some distance up the broad mouth of the River Taw; and by the Swiss and the German Palatines, led by

Baron de Graffenried, who, farther south, planted New Berne on the Neuse at the mouth of the Trent. This great peninsula, cut by the Taw and the Neuse, and many miles back of it, was the hunting ground of what Mr. Fiske calls a powerful wedge of alien Indian stock among the native Sioux and Algonquins, "the Tuscaroras, a large tribe of the dreaded Iroquois family, able to send forth at least twelve hundred warriors." In the country somewhat up from the coast, Graffenried was supported by the brilliant Scot, John Lawson, who by this time had had about twelve years' experience as surveyor, and who said that here he had discovered the garden of the colonies. In his delightful *History of Carolina* he calls this

"a delicious country, being placed in that girdle of the world which affords wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil" fit "to spin out the thread of life to its utmost extent," and "render the possessors the happiest race of men upon earth."

But the Tuscaroras also loved the land. Up to this time, while the southern colony had had much trouble with their natives, the northerly planters had had nothing more than a few petty disputes. The Tuscaroras had always been friendly, until settlers began to enter their land, or possibly they were set against the colony by Carey and Porter. Suddenly, in the latter part of September, 1711, some of the nation captured and most cruelly burned Lawson, whom they had liked for many years, and

with him a negro servant, while they held Baron de Graffenried prisoner for five weeks, and surprised New Berne and Bath, killing hundreds of men, women, and children with frightful tortures. Governor Hyde, in spite of great opposition from the Quakers and the partisans of the defeated and absent Carey, added some volunteers to the small and undisciplined militia. On his appeal to neighbouring colonies, the Virginians refused aid in spite of Spotswood's urging; but the latter's private help brought about the rescue of Graffenried. South Carolina promptly sent Colonel John Barnwell with a small force of militia and many of the Tuscaroras' ancient enemies, the Muskogees, Creeks, Yamassees, and the Sioux Catawbas. After a march of over two hundred and fifty miles through winter woods, they fell upon the Tuscaroras near the Neuse and defeated them with such enormous loss that their war-chief, Handcock, retreated to a stockade near New Berne, and made a treaty of peace with Barnwell. But some say that the victors, returning to Charles Town, seized the inhabitants of several quiet Tuscarora villages, and carried them off to sell to West India slavers, and that this caused a new outbreak which threatened to destroy every settlement on Pamlico and Albemarle. The horrors were soon increased by yellow fever; Governor Hyde died, with hundreds of others; but his place was filled by an abler man, Colonel Thomas Pollock, President of the Council and Colonel of the Militia. The people fled to Virginia from the double calamity of war and pestilence; but Spots-

wood sent them back. He also secured an unwilling vote of military aid from his own burgesses. Early in the following year, Colonel James Moore of South Carolina, with fifty colonists and one thousand Indians, drove Handcock and his tribes to a large fort in what is now Snow Hill, Greene County, where six hundred were made prisoners at once. The combined forces vigorously followed up their victory, driving the remnant of the broken nation to the upper waters of the Roanoke. In the early spring the North Carolina Parliament voted eight thousand pounds for supplies, issuing their first bills of credit; and put forth all their strength, until, finally, Spotswood induced Handcock to give up the fight through the friendly aid of Tom Blunt, head war-chief of a body of the Tuscaroras in Bertie Precinct, who had taken no part in the uprising. Then the great nation, broken by their losses in dead and in captives taken to the South Carolina slave market, retired northward to Oneida Lake, where they were admitted into the Long House, thus making the sixth in the Confederacy of the Six Nations.

In memory of this their only Indian war, the colonists for a long time observed a solemn fast on September 22nd, the anniversary of the massacres at New Berne and Bath. But the expenses of the war, or the issue of paper money to meet them, brought on a long train of new troubles, and many years passed before the colonists had any measure of the solid comfort they had known in the old days of barter, when long-standing or intricate accounts could be squared by "jumping settlements."

According to Hildreth, a general biennial Assembly, held in May, 1713, at the house of Captain Richard Sanderson at Little River, enacted the earliest laws of North Carolina now extant. At that time, "by his Excellency the Palatine, and the rest of the true and absolute Lords Proprietors of Carolina, by and with the advice and consent of the General Assembly for the north-east part of said Province," a revision of the colony's previous legislation was made, and all laws not especially re-enacted were repealed. Apparently it was not known that Queen Anne had died fifteen months before.

In 1714, the proprietors sent out Governor Charles Eden, who remained for eight years, until his death, the ablest, as well as the most popular Governor the colony ever had. He made his seat of government at Edenton, a village of fifty poor cottages, and, as Colonel Byrd said, the only capital in the world without a place of worship. The year after Eden's coming, the legislation of the Assembly was formally confirmed. The Governor and five of his Council were nominated by the proprietors; the other councillors were named by the representatives of the people — who, in their turn, were elected by the freemen in precincts or divisions of the two great counties, Albemarle and Bath.

For the next forty years the history of this community is more meagre than that of any other English colony in America. In those days, when Cape Fear and the island of New Providence were the headquarters of fifteen hundred pirates, who



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON, N. C.
Begun in 1736

"swept the sea from Newfoundland to Brazil," we have one faint picture of Governor Eden sitting in state, with "Blackbeard," the terror of the coast before him to beg for himself and twenty others the pardon offered by the new king, George I., to all pirates who should surrender and promise reform. This notorious sea-robber, known as Teach or Thatch, though his real name was Drummond, swore that he would live as a model citizen and family man; which he proceeded to do, with his fourteenth wife, as soon as Eden granted him the pardon and leave to take up his residence on the shore of Pamlico. In the next scene we see Blackbeard putting out once more to sea under the skull and cross-bones. Governor Eden was obliged to send with all haste to Governor Spotswood of Virginia for help to recapture him. Lieutenant Maynard, a gallant young officer of the royal navy, brought two armed sloops into Pamlico just as Blackbeard was thinking of escaping with twenty of his most hardened men—perhaps the same who had repented with him. There was a desperate fight, from which the lieutenant returned to the Chesapeake to claim his reward for the head of the old pirate, which hung from his bowsprit. All the sea-board settlers from Maryland to Florida breathed a sigh of relief.

About ten years after the Tuscarora outbreak, a difference over boundaries gave the Virginians occasion to send Colonel William Byrd into what they still called Rogues' Harbour. In his notes of the journey we have the only record of a stranger's

impression of the colony since that of George Fox's visit years before. Even allowing for a Virginian's prejudices, it is likely that there was much truth in the prosperous planter's picture of poverty, indolence, and thriftlessness such as was unknown in any of the other colonies. All historians agree that there was not only less town life, but less social unity and aristocratic feeling here than in any other colony. Few were the large plantations with a mansion and a rich, well-educated master; and many were the small farms or rude clearings, worked after a fashion by the women rather than the men, by black slaves, or poor, indentured white servants. There were not enough slaves to develop the executive ability shown by the rich planters of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; but there were enough to do the hardest of the manual labour and make their owners despise it.

The white redemptioner, when his bondage was over, had little difficulty in rising to the level of his former masters. With neither good harbours nor the rivalries of a fast growing population, the nearest approach to enterprise was the bringing in of furs by strings of pack-horses from the Indians, and re-shipping the stock, either in small New England vessels or on fresh horses overland to Virginia. Although living near the water and going hither and thither in their light, flat pungies, the North Carolinians neither built sea-going craft nor navigated them, and neglected excellent fisheries. On their poor and isolated farms they grew tobacco and a few necessary vegetables, and bought a few articles



from Yankee skippers, but went without even the simplest things rather than try to manufacture them. Apparently they were blind to the fact that fortunes stood about them in the yellow pine "then and now famous for its hardness and durability," says Mr. Fiske. Mr. Doyle points out that their tar might have undersold that of Scandinavia in the English market, had there been sufficient intelligence and industry to insure good packing. Horned cattle might have been raised abundantly, but "the management of a dairy was beyond the skill of a North Carolina housewife. Even hunting seems to have been little practised, and the colonists were content to live almost wholly on pork." Branded swine ran wild in droves through all the woods until the proper season to hunt them down for killing. Horses raised in the same fashion were almost as plentiful. Men and women went everywhere on horseback; rather than make journeys on foot they lived and died with most of their province unexplored. Many differences were settled by Judge Lynch; the more formal courts were held, as Mr. Fiske says, "in taverns, where the tedium of business was relieved by glasses of grog, while the judges' decisions were not put on record, but were simply shouted by the crier from the inn door or at the nearest market-place."

Mr. Doyle likens their political state to that of Northern Italy in the Middle Ages, when nobody thought of paying tribute to Cæsar, for all were Cæsars. Meetings except for public business were rare. At any function the entertainment consisted

of strong drinks, gambling, and free-fights. With the outside world there was but the slender connection of New England traders, who occasionally braved the sand-bars and pirates, and of mails from Virginia not once a month.

King George I., jealous of every charter that allowed the enactment of laws without the royal assent, managed to take to himself many of the privileges and powers of the proprietors. In 1722, after Governor Eden died, his Majesty appointed George Burrington, "a vulgar ruffian who had served a term in prison for an infamous assault upon an old woman." After a few wretched years, the King replaced him by Sir Richard Everhard, who quite equalled him in wickedness. Thus, by 1729, all the proprietors but Carteret were willing to sell to the Crown their entire interests in the "many-headed palatinate" for somewhat less than £50,000 sterling; and they received the price as an unexpected piece of good luck. Some twenty years later Carteret's share was set off between 34° 35' north latitude and the Virginia line from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and was ceded by him to the province of Georgia. North Carolina is said to have been the only colony transferred to the Crown "with the peaceful assent of all parties."





CHAPTER XIV

AN UNSUBMISSIVE CROWN PROVINCE

AS soon as North Carolina became a royal province, George II. unblushingly returned the brutal George Burrington—a precious model for the first Crown Governor—to displace Everhard because he “was making haste by secret grants to dispose of lands without bargain for quit-rents or price, even issuing blank patents.” Burrington wrote to Newcastle that the people were “indolent and crafty, impatient of government, and neither to be cajoled nor outwitted by any ruler, . . . the Council set aside and the General Court suppressed; and neither peace nor order.” That was because his parliament “directed its attention to grievances,” saying that “the country languished under the exactions of oppressive fees.” After he had exerted “all his power . . . to deny the right of instituting inquiries or expressing complaint . . . the first royal legislature separated without enacting a law,” although it managed to get the Governor on the scanty records for “scandalous, opprobrious, and malacious words,” drunken and

otherwise outrageous conduct and tyranny; for which he was displaced.

In 1734, his Majesty sent out Gabriel Johnston, a Scotchman, whose prudent, though far from serene rule, lasted for the next twenty years. He found the people "wild and barbarous," paying "the servants of the Crown scantily and tardily," and ready for a battle royal when he attacked the rent-roll, which the representatives had framed to suit their constituents. Governor Johnston, dependent on this for his salary, undertook to enforce payment by instituting a court of exchequer, whereupon the Legislature imprisoned the King's officers for distraining the rent. He dissolved the House, but a new one was as bad; and so they went on. Ten years later he wrote to the Board of Trade that he could not see how the government was to be kept up, "as the officers were obliged for subsistence to live on small plantations, their salaries eight years in arrears." But he found a way. The two old counties of Albemarle and Bath had disappeared by this time; the precincts into which they had been divided were raised into counties, each having five representatives, while new counties as they were settled and erected in the southerly portion of the province had each but two representatives. This inequality was the latter's grievance; and Johnston won them to his side by rushing a measure for equal representation on a certain occasion when a majority of the northern members were absent from the House; at the same time removing the capital from New Berne to the new town of Wilmington.

The northern counties, disputing the regularity of this session and carrying their protest to England, only made matters worse, for the Crown upheld the Governor. Then the rent-rolls were made up, the rents collected, and the poor officials received their pay.

As time slipped on towards the middle of the century, it wrought great changes in this province, chiefly through the long-snubbed southern counties. They were peopled by many small freeholders who worked for themselves, with few negroes or white servants. Some were Germans, who had come down from Pennsylvania; pious, industrious families, though uneducated and keeping to their own language, the "Pennsylvania Dutch." Great strength also had been brought into this region after the collapse of the Jacobite rebellion, in 1745, by a large number of the families of the defeated Scotch Highlanders, among them Flora Macdonald, who had saved Prince Charlie's life from the red-coats of George II. When the Americans rebelled against his grandson, George III., she returned with her husband to the mother-country.

The greatest body of newcomers, whose members and character, with their industry, enterprise, and rigid Presbyterian religion, quite made over the once lawless and shiftless colony, were the old Scotch stock from Ulster County, Ireland. In these counties, under the encouragement of parliamentary bounties, tar, pitch, and resin from the vast pine forests became the staple export. After some time there were negro plantations about Cape Fear

growing rice in the swamps and maize on alluvial lands. But the colony still ranked as the least commercial of the Thirteen; the currency was worth but one for fourteen in London, and only one for ten at home. Although there were about seventy thousand white people, almost twice as many as in South Carolina, and about twenty thousand negroes, there was not a village of any size.

The next Governor, Arthur Dobbs, had some name as a writer in England; a fact which flattered the parliament into "gratitude" for a man of "known abilities and good character." They even promised to "forget former contests" until their *rara avis* began to dispute the acts of the House like any ordinary mortal, and to pick quarrels with their Speaker and Treasurer, Starkie, whom he called a "Republican of Puritanic humility but unbounded ambition." A newspaper, the *North Carolina Gazette*, was started in 1749, "with freshest advices, foreign and domestic." Three years later the first edition of the *Provincial Laws* was printed.

When the French and Indians opened war in the Ohio Valley, this colony's regiment of four hundred and fifty men was the only response the Virginians received to their first call for help. Later, eight thousand pounds was voted toward Braddock's expedition against Duquesne. The next year three hundred levies were sent into South Carolina to co-operate with the Royal Americans and the Virginian troops, when it was feared that the Cherokees would be drawn away from their allegiance and

would push the fighting into the Carolinas. At the opening of the next year, Dobbs went to Philadelphia and agreed with the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia upon the quota of men to be furnished by his colony; but, from first to last, these planters suffered nothing in the "Old French and Indian War" except by a few small frays between some back settlers and a body of the friendly Cherokees returned from their share in the capture of Duquesne. Of Pontiac's war they saw nothing; nor did they take much



HUGH WADDELL.

active part in the new troubles with King George III., which soon broke over all the colonies. Between the great provinces on both sides of her, North Carolina was comparatively of small consideration in those days. The delegates were not in session to send representatives to the Stamp Act Congress, if they had wished to do so.

In the next year, 1764, during the lull that followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, Dobbs was succeeded by William Tryon, a Governor who for the next seven years taught the people of North Carolina a lesson in royal tyranny which placed them in the forefront of the resistance. It has been said that Tryon trampled out all the colonists' trust in the servants of the Crown, while he won at the Colonial Office the reputation of being the ablest governor in America. Under his tyranny and the extortion of sheriffs who levied heavy taxes and rendered no account of their collections to anyone, the people took matters into their own hands, especially in the middle counties. Hildreth says:

"In this very barren portion of the Province, with a population generally poor and ignorant, but capable of self-defence after their own fashion, under the name of Regulators, borrowed from South Carolina, they formed associations which not only refused to pay taxes, but assaulted the persons and property of lawyers, judges, sheriffs, and other obnoxious individuals, and even proceeded so far as to break up sessions of the courts."

One of their leaders was expelled from the House of Delegates; but the Assembly could do no more than file away the broken promises; and at length Tryon, in May, 1771, led a body of volunteers to enforce obedience. The Regulators met them in a bloody battle at Alamance on the Haw, near the headwaters of Cape Fear River. The Governor left some two hundred of the rebels dead upon the field, made many prisoners, and hanged six for high

treason. This extended the Regulators' hatred from the royal officers to their own brethren of the lower counties. In the next year, when Lord Dunmore was promoted to Virginia, New York was offered to Tryon as a reward for the "rapacious violence" with which in this mean province he had proved his loyalty to the Crown.

His greatest service perhaps was to drive several bodies of his hardy rebels into the magnificent wilderness of what are now the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. Before this time it had ceased to be true of the North Carolinians that they would travel no farther than horse or boat could carry them. Their hunters and Indian traders had been among the most fearless and enthusiastic explorers of the Great Smoky Mountains and the country beyond. The pioneer was Daniel Boone, a native of Pennsylvania and settler in North Carolina, afterwards founder of the first settlement in Kentucky. With him was James Knox, leader of "the Long Hunters," who found their way down the Cumberland to the limestone bluff where Nashville now stands. Another, James Robertson, started among his neighbours the emigration which, in 1771, penetrated the Cherokee country as far as the banks of the Watauga, one of the headwaters of the Tennessee, where there was already a small settlement of Virginians. They supposed that all this country was within the limits of Virginia, and under her protection against the Indians. When they found that they were on the territory of disordered North Carolina, they resolved to take care of themselves.

All of this region not within the Virginia boundaries was still claimed as a hunting-ground by several tribes, and was likely to be entered by any of them at any time, in no friendly spirit toward English invaders notwithstanding the treaty which all the nations had made with the King of England after the failure of Pontiac's rebellion. So Robertson, acting for the settlement, visited the Council of the Cherokees and obtained from them a lease of the lands and their promise of confidence and friendship. Meantime Tryon's tyranny added to the numbers, among others, John Sevier, the son of a Huguenot, whose "skill and dashing prowess made him the most renowned Indian fighter of the South-west." He and Robertson, a mighty hunter and a born leader, towering above the mingled good and bad of their fellow-settlers, formed them into a new colony which was intended to be free from the evils of the provincial government they had left behind them. In the spring of 1772, they held a general convention, somewhat like a New England town-meeting, at which the Watauga colonists "set to the people of America the example of erecting themselves into a state independent of the authority of the British King." It was the first constitution adopted west of the mountains, or by a community American born. Under it for many years the pioneers exercised all the rights of statehood in a perfectly independent and democratic manner, without getting into trouble with the neighbouring colonial legislatures, winning for themselves the unique reputation of being an orderly, well-governed portion of Carolina.

The new Governor, Josiah Martin, followed a different policy from Tryon's. He tried to win over the Regulators by promising to redress their grievances; but he could not make this a submissive colony. The House, by refusing to comply with certain demands of the Crown in respect to the provincial courts, actually kept the colony without any courts at all for a year. They also refused to quarter the royal troops sent to them, and adopted the Virginia resolutions; and when they were dismissed in consequence, the delegates met privately, entered into the non-importation agreement, and took Boston's side against the Boston Port Bill. By invitation of the Committee of Vigilance for Wilmington, a convention of the colony's representatives met at New Berne on the first of August, 1774, and sent delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Martin informed the Ministry, with truth, that there were large parties of both Tories and non-fighting Quakers, besides many Scotch Highlanders, "very ignorant and very loyal," and Germans who knew little of political rights and less of the language of their seditious neighbours. But the Ministry were sufficiently impressed to exempt North Carolina, with New York and Georgia, in the new Restraining Bill of 1775. The agent of the province helped further to blind the home government by holding back a petition from the Assembly, which, as he declared, contained "many strange inaccuracies and reflections on the Parliament and Ministry. But both the Assembly and a provincial congress which met at the same time, in April, 1775,

and was for the most part composed of the same members, approved the proceedings of the Continental Congress, and appointed delegates to the next one.

On news of the fight at Lexington, an Association was formed pledged to defend the rights and liberties of the colonies by force if necessary. On May 31, the people of Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, held a public indignation meeting, and passed resolutions to throw off the British yoke and frame a formal Declaration of Independence. Although this purpose was far from general, there were many in the province who refused to sign the Articles of the Association, or to take the oath of neutrality offered instead. The Associators had made such progress by July that Martin, alarmed for his life, retired from his well-defended house at New Berne to the fort at the mouth of the Cape Fear; and when a body of militia appeared in that neighbourhood, he took refuge in a sloop-of-war in the river. Then the Associators went about disarming Tories and making the chief of them prisoners on their own plantations. There were so many of them in this province that the Continental Congress voted support for a thousand men to keep them in order. Then a new convention at Hillsborough voted three regiments to carry out these plans, and also ordered that a proclamation forbidding this meeting, which Martin had issued from his retreat, should be burned by the common hangman, as "a scandalous, malicious, and scurrilous libel tending to disunite the good people of the province." These events occurred in August and September of 1775. By the

opening of the next year Martin had organised a small force under two British officers, Scotchmen and leading men of the clans of McLeod and McDonald largely represented in the southern counties. To support these forces, General Clinton set out from Boston with a small body of troops in Febru-



HEADQUARTERS OF LORD CORNWALLIS, WILMINGTON.

ary; but, before he could land, Moore marched from Wilmington with about a thousand men, arranged in detachments, to head off the first movements of the Highlanders. On April 1st, the two little armies met at Moore's Creek Bridge, with complete victory for the provincials. The convention issued orders at once that four more regiments should be raised, that their arms should be taken from all who would

not sign the Association, and that the delegates at Philadelphia should join with the other colonists in the Declaration of Independence. On the 18th of December a constitution was adopted, creating the State of North Carolina.





CHAPTER XV

SOUTH CAROLINA, TWELFTH COLONY—AN UN- GOVERNABLE PALATINATE

SOUTH CAROLINA takes twelfth place among the "original" colonies in virtue of several barely recorded plantations, made from ten to seventeen years after the beginnings of North Carolina. No two of all the English settlements were less like sister colonies than these, which theoretically were under the same government for sixty-four years. The southern colony became at once what the northern colony could not and would not be—a rich, slave-holding, aristocratic, proprietary province, attempting to carry out the theory of a government "agreeable to monarchy" and avoiding "the erecting of a numerous democracy." In March, 1663, the restored King had granted the whole region between Virginia and Florida to a body of palatine proprietors, naming it Carolina,—not for himself, he said, but for his martyred father,—although as a matter of fact the name had been upon the region ever since, in 1562, it was bestowed by the French who found and fortified "the Port Royal,"

in honour of their own king, Charles IX. Charles I. of England had granted it, or part of it called Carolina Florida, to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath, and also a strip to Lord Baltimore, who preferred some of the Chesapeake country. Those who received the grant from Charles II. were mostly noblemen who had received their titles for their share in restoring him to his throne—George Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; Lord Craven; Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the proprietors of New Jersey; Lord Berkeley's brother Sir William, the Governor of Virginia; and Sir John Colleton. To this day their names are borne by rivers, sounds, and counties within their long-extinct jurisdiction.

Some historians, from what seems a slender chain of evidence, assume that the beginnings of this colony were made by a party of rich gentlemen planters from Barbadoes. Though at first settling on the Cape Fear River, well within what afterwards was declared the province of North Carolina, they never had any connection with the "Rogues' Harbour" of Albemarle, some one hundred and sixty miles north-east of them. It is said that they did not like the government of Barbadoes, and in August, 1663, petitioned the proprietors of the new province of Carolina for leave to make an extensive plantation there under their own government. Before receiving an answer, apparently, they or their agents landed at Cape Fear, under the leadership of Sir John Yeamans, also of Barbadoes, who

was eager to repair the fortune which his gallant father had lost in devotion to the rights of the Stuart monarchy. Nearly fifty years afterwards, the charming *History of North Carolina* by the surveyor, John Lawson (whose pitiable murder opened the Tuscarora war), seems to describe this party as the one that found "a writing left in a post at the point of Cape Fear River by those New England men that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land about the said river, but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle."

The Barbadoes gentlemen took this for a lie, pushed their way more than one hundred and fifty miles up the river, and prepared an "answer to that scandalous writing," saying "what we have seen, facing both the river and the branches of Cape Fair aforesaid" [making the change of one letter alter the significance of the name] "as good land and as well timbered as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our English nation, and lying commodiously by the said river's side."

The climate was agreeable, the soil of various qualities, the country abounded in game and was peopled by red men who promised peace. "Up the river at about twenty or thirty miles" the natives sold to these enthusiastic visitors a tract of some thirty miles square, and it is said that a portion of the company took possession at once. Like good Cavaliers, as Yeamans was supposed to be,

they called the place Charles Town, for the king who had been murdered and his son who had been restored to the throne.

The story next carries Yeamans to England to report to the proprietors the value of the country, which New Englanders were at once coveting and crying down. While the palatine association denied the adventurers' request for an independent plantation, they accepted the Barbadoes planters, told Yeamans to obtain as many more as he could, and appointed him Governor from the Cape Fear River to the San Mateo, Florida, erecting that broad region into the county or colony of Clarendon. He was instructed to set up a remarkably free government, much like that which Stephens was authorised to maintain in Albemarle. Until the proprietors' own system was prepared, Yeamans was enjoined to "make things easy to the people of New England; from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the Southern Colonies are already drained." But few came hither from that region. The Governor, returning by way of Barbadoes, was joined by several hundred slave-holding planters of his own type. They probably found the pioneers who were holding the "Cape Fair" River purchase, reconciled them to the proprietors' terms, formed their government, and set their slaves to work. Within a year there were eight hundred people in this Charles Town, on the "Cape Fair" in Clarendon County, Carolina. They sent boards, shingles, and pipe-staves to Barbadoes, and a wonderful traffic was recorded immediately; but in the next



HOME OF SIR JOHN YEAMANS.

year, 1667, the proprietors' Secretary, Robert Sandford, said he found them in great distress, and apparently they had more reverses than successes.

The proprietors, not content with settlers over whom they were merely landlords, in or about 1669 undertook a separate plantation, with almost as great earnestness and generous outlay as the Virginia Company of nearly a century and a half before. In spite, however, of the experience gained in that long period, they began by repeating some of the mistakes of the First Colony. But they made no error in the choice of the store-keeper and commander-at-sea of their first emigration, Joseph West.

The Governor was a bigoted old Puritan planter of Bermuda, William Sayle, whom the proprietors had appointed apparently for no other reasons than because he had been a distinguished figure among colonisers for twenty years, beginning with his attempt to plant "the isles of the Gulf of Florida," and because he had lately been the means of the annexation of the Bahamas to Carolina by pointing out the value of those islands in case of war between England and Spain. He proved as unable to manage the colony as might have been expected. West kindly stated that he was "very aged and hath much lost himself in his government." Others bluntly declared that he was "ancient and crazed"; but his death soon placed matters in West's able hands.

The jurisdiction was described as "lying south and West of Cape Carteret [which both before and

after that was called Cape Romaine] as far south as the Spaniards would tolerate." As it began some one hundred miles below the seat of the "Cape Fair Colony," it overlapped Yeamans's boundaries only in words, and raised no unfriendliness.

On an early spring day of 1670, in three ships, the proprietors' colony reached Port Royal, to which they had been sent; but, seeming to think it uncomfortably near the Spaniards, they coasted northward and entered what later was called the Ashley River. About three miles up this stream they began a plantation in what is now South Carolina, on "the first high land convenient for tillage and pasturing," a promontory which they named Albemarle Point. Although Spain and England were then at peace, a Spanish war-ship started on their track, but learned at Stono Inlet that they had taken a strong position, and sailed away. Cabins were put up without delay on ground that had been occupied lately by an Indian community wiped out by sickness and wars. This settlement was named Charles Town by the proprietors. Some of the company chose to build nearer the sea, on what they called Oyster Point, where the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers made a remarkable harbour.

The colony brought with them a copy of the proprietors' elaborate frame of government, Shaftesbury's and Locke's "Grand Model," which here, as at Albemarle Sound, was long imposed but never utilised. The colonists set it aside as impossible to execute for the present, but assembled a parliament of the five members of the Grand Council, appointed

by the proprietors, and five others selected by the people; together with twenty delegates of the free-men of the colony, and the Governor, over whom the delegates had the power of veto. A beginning was made in creating the Carolinian nobility by bestowing the title of landgrave on John Locke, the author of the scheme, on Carteret, the disreputable son of one of the proprietors, and on Sir John Yeamans, Governor of the colony on the Cape Fear. But when, in the next year, a revised copy of the Constitutions was sent over with a set of rules and instructions, the people absolutely refused to conform to them. Even the lords proprietors' own colonists began their history with a claim of right to laws suited to their needs, a claim around which the history of the colony revolved for twenty years, and which brought its course as a province to an end in advance of the other twelve colonies.

The proprietors did not allow the people's want of docility to check their minute care for all the affairs of the Point, in order, they said, to build up gradually and carefully a community containing in itself both the agricultural and commercial elements needful for prosperity. They charged West to see that the men "provide for the belly by planting a store of provisions," before they did more than experiment in raising products for trade. The poorer settlers were to be lent food, clothes, and tools from a common store until they were able to provide for themselves. Their worships generously granted during the first year to every freeman who came out at his own cost one hundred and fifty

acres on small quit-rents; with additional plots of the same size for every able-bodied man servant and one hundred acres for every woman servant. But, in order to compel the people to establish a town, all grants were within a radius of about fifty miles of the mouth of the Ashley River. Every freeholder was to have a town lot one twentieth the size of his plantation. Except the original allotment, any grant was invalid unless the occupant built a two-story house on his town lot. As for the country estates, every grant of a barony was to be void if at the end of seven years it was not occupied by thirty tenants; and every manor must have fifteen tenants. It was forbidden to make settlement within two and a half miles of an Indian town, unless a river lay between.

With futile strenuousness it was forbidden to harm the natives. These were not high-minded settlers sent to invade this land claimed by the Spaniards. If they had been, the situation would have been exasperating enough. The Spaniards took care that the Indians should regard them as enemies and soon give them reason to carry their guns always, whether building and planting, sweeping the rivers for fish, or gathering oysters. It is said by Mr. Doyle, who has had access to records denied to most of us:

"From their very earliest days the settlers were involved in trouble with their savage neighbours. The Kussoes, a tribe on the southern frontier, claimed to be the allies of Spaniards, and irritated the settlers by insults

and petty depredations. Yet it is hard to see what injuries had been done which could justify the English in declaring war. This, however, they did in September, 1671. The Kussoes were at once defeated, and the prisoners sentenced to be sold out of the colony, unless ransomed by their countrymen. In the next year another tribe, the Westoes, appeared so threatening that a force was raised against them. Nothing, however, came of this"—

but the Westoes' lasting hatred and acts of vengeance. Many of the poor creatures were sold in the West Indies so soon that suspicions were aroused in England that the colonists waged the wars chiefly for that end. The proprietors were indignant at such tempting of Providence; some blamed West, and while they praised him for the "care, fidelity, and prudence" he had shown, they explained that not being a landgrave he was ineligible, and replaced him by Sir John Yeamans, a man steeped in the slavery sentiment of Barbadoes. They soon regretted this step, and tried to retrace it after two years. But, meantime, Yeamans and his friends, who seem to have abandoned the "Cape Fair" for the Ashley and Cooper rivers, settled the destiny of the colony, in spite of all the proprietors could do, by opening the trade in negro slaves with Barbadoes, which then probably had two blacks to every white person, and carried on slave-stealing in Africa as its one settled industry. While a few New Englanders and others bitterly opposed slavery, the majority welcomed it, hating work, and declaring, as men did in the West Indies, that "without negro slaves

a planter can never do any great matter." Most of them, who were there to mend desperately low fortunes, and inclined to be discontented and vicious, became enterprising as soon as this traffic was opened; and the proprietors' cherished "colony south-west of Cape Fear" was turned into the particular seat of slavery among all the English settlements, the only place on the mainland where the lives of both negroes and Indians were commonly held only at their money value. Every freeman was tempted to take up land and buy "negars"; and, in spite of the proprietors' orders, to ship cargoes of lumber and furs with a few other products to Barbadoes instead of the English market, buy more "negars" and take up more land. Yeamans was the master of this trade, making his fortune so rapidly that he retired comfortably to his island plantations when, in 1674, his office was restored to West, now duly created a landgrave.

The proprietors then considered the appalling facts that for the thousands of pounds they had expended on the colony during these four years, they had received practically no returns. Ignoring their own bad judgment in the selection of colonists and governors, they thought to mend matters by instituting such sweeping reforms as refusing more cattle and sending instead expensive outfits for vineyards and olive groves. For the next four years, as far as we can judge from conflicting statements, their worships continued and added to these mistakes, while West, by tactful and vigorous management, offset them as much as possible. The best proof of his efficiency,

says Mr. Doyle, is the fact that during that whole time, though there was no lack of discord among the settlers, nor of ill-feeling between them and the proprietors, West enjoyed the confidence and goodwill of all. In his time the parliament succeeded in making some good and much-needed laws, and in organising a militia. Evidently he often had his hands full. The enlightened Quaker proprietor, Joseph Archdale, said in his *New Description* :

"The most desperate Fortunes first ventured over to break the Ice, which being generally the Ill-livers of the pretended Churchmen, altho' the Proprietors commissioned one Colonel West their Governor, a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person ; yet having a Council of the loose principled Men, they grew so very unruly, that they had like to have Ruined the Colony by abusing the Indians, whom in prudence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree."

They overreached the Indians in trade, stole their women, punished them terribly for small offences ; and soon made a regular traffic of seizing and selling them to slave-dealers of the West Indies, until their worships heard of it and " for once interfered with the colonists promptly and successfully." Then, on West's urgent plea, they found a better class of colonists. " Men of estate ventured where they were assured of fair dealing."

Meantime the planters at " Oyster Point," on the neck between the Cooper and Ashley rivers, finding themselves lonely, cut off from the main body of the colony, but in the more healthful place, had

induced many to leave Albemarle Point and join them by an offer of one half of their lands for "commons and pasture." Ten years later, the capital was removed, name and all. In the next year, 1681, the new Charles Town was regularly laid out by John Culpeper, who had returned to do good work, after fleeing to North Carolina to escape hanging for his seditions and love of popular liberty. He planned, says an old chronicler,

"large and capacious streets, in which were reserved convenient places for Building of a Church, Town House, and other Publick Structures, an Artillery Ground for the Exercise of their Militia, and Wharves for the Convenience of their Trade and Shipping. At our being there was judged in the Country a 1000 or 1200 souls: but the great number of Families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily transport themselves thither have more than doubled that Number."

The new Charles Town "attained a degree of importance and completeness unknown to any other city in the Southern Colonies."

The territory was divided into three great counties: Craven, the sparsely settled northern region; Berkeley, the country in and around Charles Town; and Colleton, southward from Berkeley to Port Royal.

There was not a flood of settlers; only about three thousand in a dozen years. Besides the proprietors' planters, a small company of Dutch, unhappy since their own New Netherland had become English New York, settled on the Ashley and

attracted a large party directly from Holland ; while from Somersetshire in England, Joseph Blake, a creditable nephew of the great admiral, brought a company of " honest and substantial " Dissenters. A certain Ferguson led a company of Irishmen, who " instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants " ; and Lord Cardross, afterwards Earl of Buchan, planted a somewhat celebrated colony at Port Royal. He intended to bring many more colonists and found an independent settlement, but on seeing that the colonists and not the proprietors exercised the authority, he left his people to the capricious government of the factions at Charles Town, while he sought glory elsewhere. By that time West had been removed,—in 1683,—nominally for favouring the popular party against the proprietors ; but in fact, it was said, for his " connivance at the barbarous practice " of Indian slavery. Certainly he did not suppress the kidnapping which was done mostly among the Spaniards' allies ; nor did he keep Charles Town from becoming a resort for pirates of all nations, who made their fortunes by attacking the vessels and settlements of the Spaniards.

In the next three years the governor's office changed hands six times. First came Joseph Moreton, who had a stormy time for less than a year, not only because he was unpopular, but because the Charles Town people were so incensed at having no larger delegation than the scattered settlements of Colleton County, that they themselves elected the entire number of delegates who sat as the parliament, supported by the majority of the colony and

by the Governor. Although the proprietors ordered them to disperse, they adjourned and reassembled as it pleased them until the inhabitants of the other counties became numerous enough to secure their rights.

Apparently the Council ousted Moreton and kept West in his old place until the arrival of Governor Richard Kyle. They reinstated their favourite once more upon Kyle's sudden death. But the proprietors made haste to despatch Governor Robert Quarry, and after that "man of marked ability and good reputation was removed . . . for complicity with pirates," in which he "actually gave permission to two buccaneer captains to bring their Spanish prizes into the harbour," Moreton returned for a few months. About the same time the much talked of "Spanish invasion" suddenly came to pass. Three vessels landed a band of soldiers at Port Royal, and "in the most barbarous manner" wiped the little settlement out of existence, allowing only a few of the settlers to escape to Charles Town. Farther up the coast the enemy fell upon Bear Bluff, on Ediston River, near Charles Town, where the suburban houses of Governor Moreton, the Secretary of the province, and many others were plundered of money, plate, and slaves; while the principal resident, Governor Moreton's brother, was carried away captive. In the height of their success a great storm drove one of the Spaniards' galleys ashore; upon which, "the Country being by that Time sufficiently Alarmed, they thought proper to make a Retreat; but first set fire to that Galley

on which Mr. Moreton was actually then in chains and most inhumanly burnt in her." The rest of the fleet were off before the colonists could attack them; but four hundred men were in arms at once to set out for St. Augustine and pay the "Blackguards" back in their own coin. When ready to embark, the expedition was stopped by summary orders from the proprietors. The charter rights of the colonists, they said, permitted defence, and even "pursuit in heat of victory, but not a deliberate making war on the King of Spain's subjects within his own territory." Inwardly raging, the colonists obeyed, and received for their consolation a letter from their superiors, saying, "We are glad you have laid aside your project, as, had it proceeded, Moreton, Godfrey, and others might have answered it, perhaps, with their lives." The Governor was instructed to write a "civil letter" to the commander at St. Augustine, inquiring by what authority he had made the attacks upon the English settlements.

After this stirring period of Moreton's second attempt at government, the confusion was still worse confounded for four years by James Colleton, a brother of one of the proprietors. In his first effort to enforce the Constitutions, he opened a quarrel with the people that soon extended into all their relations. When he tried to collect the quit-rents on wild as well as cultivated lands, the popular party imprisoned the Secretary and seized the records. Still more resolute opposition was made to the enforcement of the Acts of Trade and to the

custom-house at Charles Town, which the proprietors had established in their anxiety to propitiate the new King's jealousy of charters. It was upon their charter, however, that the impetuous planters based their defence, with the result, of course, that his Majesty issued a writ of *quo warranto* against it. The loyal, though disgusted, proprietors promptly proposed to surrender it, but were spared by the uprising which drove James II. to France. At this time, Mr. Doyle says, the proprietors instructed the Governor not to pass any act for raising money except by consent of a majority of the representatives. "Thus, as in Virginia and Maryland, the exclusive right of taxation was clearly conceded to the settlers, and that at a time when there was no special inclination to treat them with favour." This was by no means a signal of peace. Colleton continued to urge the Constitutions, and one parliament after another to refuse them. At length, pretending to fear an attack from Spaniards or Indians, he called out the militia and declared martial law. Then the "turbulents" broke out into a miniature copy of the rebellion that had taken place in England the year before. In the midst of it, in 1690, appeared Seth Sothel, magnificently proclaiming himself Governor by right of his proprietary interests and aiding the people to disfranchise and banish Colleton, without mentioning his own luck in finding so congenial a way of enduring a similar sentence from the colonists he had outraged in Albemarle. For a little while he enjoyed great popularity, which he used to fill his pockets by all sorts of shameless

extortion, till the people resented it, and the proprietors, hearing of his actions, nullified at one stroke the acts of his parliament, deprived him of all authority in the province, and threatened a royal *mandamus* which would compel him to stand trial in England, till he hid away somewhere in Albemarle.

Philip Ludwell, the first Governor-General of the whole province, ruled for a year,—when Charles Town “fairly swarmed with pirates,”—and then gave way to Thomas Smith, a “wise, sober, well living planter of the colony.” In his time, in 1693, the cultivation of rice was introduced, as important and interesting an experiment to South Carolina as tobacco-raising had been to Virginia. The story is that an English sea-captain, accidentally touching at Charles Town on his way home from Madagascar, gave the Governor a small quantity of rice, which Smith and his friends found to thrive beyond anything they had ever tried. In a few years they had enough for a large exportation, “the best of the known world.”

About this time the proprietors formally abolished the Constitutions; and, as knowing ones “writ over” that “it was impossible to settle the Country, except a Proprietor himself was sent over with full power to Heal their Grievances,” they sent their able associate, Friend Joseph Archdale. In his brief year of 1695 he said, when

“every faction apply’d themselves” to him, “in hopes of Relief,” he “appeased them with kind and gentle Words,” called a parliament and appealed to their

"serious rational observations"; receiving seemly reply. But notwithstanding "this fair Blossom in Season to produce Peace and Tranquility to the Country, some endeavoured to sow Seeds of Contention thereby to nip the same; insomuch that they sat six Weeks under Civil Broils and Heats"; although "in the conclusion all matters ended amicably."

He secured, among other measures, a

"forgiveness of arrears of quit-rent, careful inquiry into cases of individual grievances; the selection of a Council from among the citizens most trusted by the people; . . . while his energy in matters that required a strong hand was no less conspicuous and disinterested." He worked for peace with Spaniards and Indians, "yet he did not, though a Quaker, abate for a moment his attention to the defence of the colony. . . . He exempted those of his own faith from military service, provided they could show that they objected to it from conviction, and not from cowardice; but, for himself, he looked carefully to every detail of military matters," and "the militia was never better trained."

"Having accomplished all his objects to the mutual benefit of Proprietors and people," he left his good work to Joseph Blake, who carried it on for about five years, until his death in the first year of the new century. A Dissenter himself, he gave support and patronage to John Cotton, son of John Cotton of Boston, who came to preach at Charles Town; but he also procured the passage of an act giving one hundred and fifty pounds a year and a

house to the Anglican clergyman of the town, and freedom of worship to the Huguenots and to all Christians, excepting Papists. Dissent was upheld by a large majority of the people, including nearly all the rural population. Some say it was more a matter of inherited tradition than belief, but Mr. Fiske says "most of the South Carolina settlers had left their homes in Europe for reasons connected with religion. . . . Calvinism was the prevailing form of theology . . . though there were some Lutherans, and one fifth of the people may have belonged to the Church of England." The true sons of South Carolina had grown up on their isolated plantations without churches or even schools, but with a deep-seated prejudice, it has been said, that no Church at all was better than the Church of England. A none too creditable apostle of the Establishment, Nicholas Trott, was sent out as the proprietary agent and chief-justice, and stamped his impress upon many years of the colony's history. It should be remembered with gratitude that in his busy life he found time to collect and publish the laws of the colony and such ecclesiastical laws as there were in divers other settlements.

In Blake's time a new day dawned for the pirates, whose gold and silver and terrible name had bought them whatever they wanted in Charles Town for thirty years. Now the colonists had cargoes of rice to be attacked; cargoes for which they began at length to have credit in England, and to see honest money from Holland, Hamburg, Bremen, Sweden,

Denmark, and Portugal. Besides, South Carolina morals had been strengthened by large numbers of upright English Dissenters and French Huguenots. So, when the bold sea-thieves made free with the town, they were hanged on the enormous gallows at Execution Dock. The fraternity of the black flag, seeing a dozen or more of their members swinging in their heavy chains, began to give the port a wide berth.

On Governor Blake's death in 1701, when Moreton was elected to the vacancy once more, Trott, with James Moore, "an ambitious and unscrupulous" politician, suddenly brought to the fore a new party of "greedy, self-seeking adventurers" who used "the proprietary authority as a pretext and instrument for their own ends." Moore forced the Council to annul the election, put himself in Moreton's place, and packed both the Council and the Assembly "with his own creatures," whom he rewarded by certain profits on kidnapping and selling Indians to the West Indies. The proprietors heard of it and denounced him, but did not stop the practice, for as Queen Anne's war over the Spanish Succession had begun, Moore raised a force and led it to the gate of St. Augustine, carrying border fighting to a pitch never known before. Spaniards and Apalachee Indians fought on one side, Creeks and Carolinians on the other. Moore was invariably successful in these forays, returning from laying waste one little Indian town after another like a barbaric chief of old, a herd of slaves before him, his train laden with spoils behind. But the colony

suffered. The men were called away from their affairs on military duty, and large sums of money were levied for the building and maintaining of frontier forts, even to the neighbourhood of the Chattahoochee, the present boundary of the State of Florida. The colony then issued its first paper currency; five thousand planters assumed a public debt of about six thousand pounds, a responsibility that in the minds of many of them was in no way offset by the extension of their wild and almost pathless frontier. At length, when a demand was made to settle the bills for the attack on St. Augustine, Charles Town was thrown into an uproar by a general riot in which the Governor's partisans were guilty of brutal outrages.

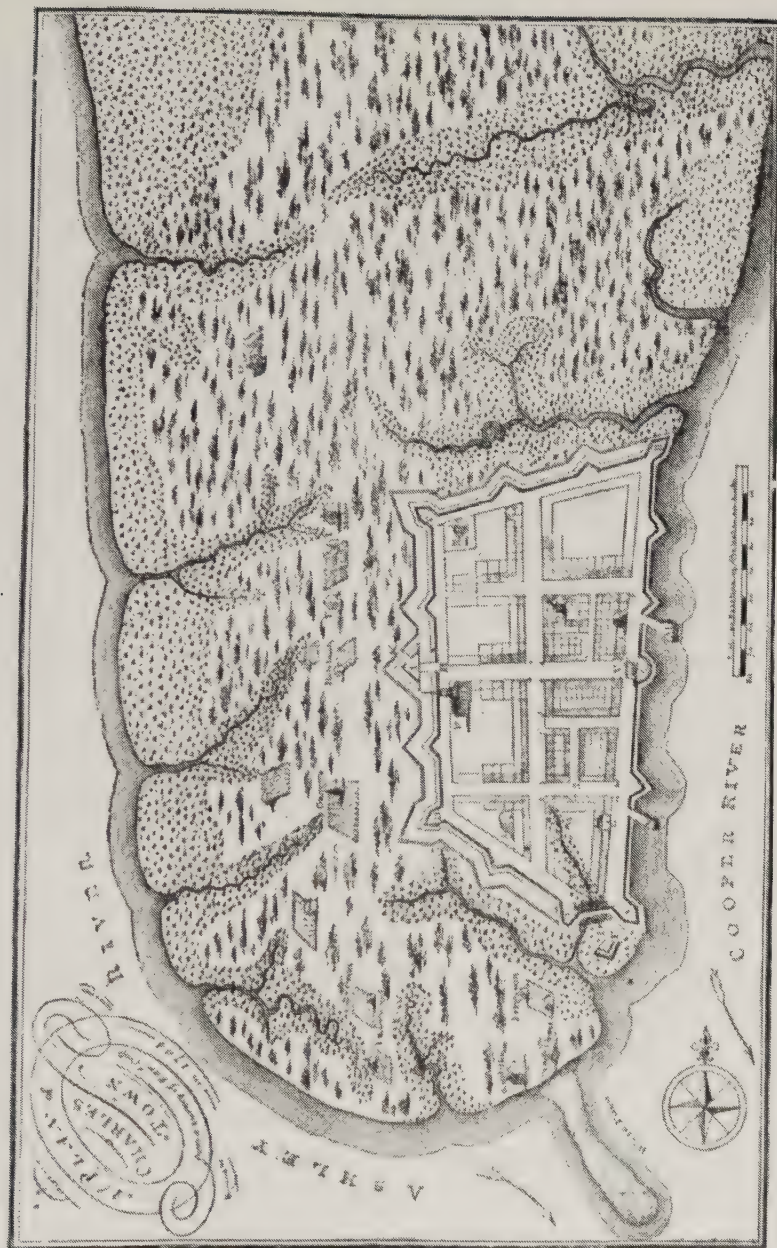
In 1703, the proprietors appointed as Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was both able and popular, though "a precious bigot" for the Establishment; but Moore was retained as attorney-general, and Trott was still chief-justice. They manipulated the election to suit themselves, and enacted in the next parliament that all who blasphemed the Trinity or questioned the divine authority of the Bible should forfeit their civil rights in the colony and be condemned to three years' imprisonment. This failing to crush the popular party, another act was passed, which practically disfranchised every Dissenter and left the whole colony at the mercy of the little self-seeking Church party. In the outburst of complaints that naturally followed, Churchmen were strengthened under the influence of Lord Granville, then Palatine. But the

powerful Archdale supported the Dissenters. He said that Johnson "by a Chymical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turn'd this Civil Difference into a Religious Controversy."

Three years later the Spaniards began vigorous retaliation against the capital itself. In the early autumn of 1706, a fleet of Spaniards and Frenchmen under Captain Le Feboure entered the harbour and demanded the surrender of the city. This was refused; and the people, though weakened by an epidemic of yellow fever,—the first in the colony,—stoutly held out till with the combined assistance of the neighbouring settlements and the prowess of a small fleet under Colonel Rhett, the enemy were beaten off, leaving two hundred and thirty prisoners behind them.

The people had forgotten their dissensions in the face of danger; and when Governor Johnson thanked them for their noble conduct, they returned the compliment by a gift of land. But the fear of being forced into the communion of the Church of England soon revived. An appeal from the proprietors was carried to the House of Lords, and the charter would probably have been annulled but for the death of Granville and the succession to his place of the conciliatory Earl of Craven, under whom all the Dissenters' rights were restored.

Upon this great victory for the planters, Johnson was succeeded by Lord Craven's brother, Charles Craven, in whose six years' term, Mr. Doyle says, for the first time the colony had "a Governor endowed with wisdom and public spirit, representing



PLAN OF CHARLESTON. FROM A SURVEY OF EDWARD CRISP IN 1704.

- A—Granville bastion. B—Craven bastion. C—Carteret bastion. D—Colleton bastion. E—Ashley bastion. F—Blake's bastion. G—Half Moon. H—Draw-bridge *in the line*. I—Johnsons *covered half moon*. K—Draw-bridge *in half moon*. L—Palisades. M—Lt. Col. Rhett's bridge. N—Kea L. Smiths bridge. O—Ministers house. P—English Church. Q—French Church. R—Independent Church. S—Ana-Baptist Church. T—Quaker Meeting House. V—Court of Guard. W—First rice patch *in Carolina*. 1—Pasquero and Garretts house. 2—Landacks house. 3—Jno. Crofkeys house. 4—Chevellers house. 5—Geo. Logan house. 6—Pettett house. 7—Effcott house. 8—Starling house. 9—M. Boone house. 10—Tradds house. 11—Nat. Law house. 12—Landgrave Smith house. 13—Col. Rhett's house. 14—Ben Skenking house. 15—Sindery house.

the views and interests of the proprietors, yet trusted and beloved by the people, and even watching over their interests with sedulous care." Under him the two parties became fairly balanced, and all showed a new ambition for the province. The parliament voted £1500 for a State House and other improvements were made at Charles Town. Although the British Parliament authorised the laying out of parishes and the raising of money towards the building of churches and the permanent endowment of the clergy, the ministers were not appointed by superior powers, but elected by their congregations after the custom of Dissenters. These clergymen were high-minded, educated, and patriotic, though for many years there were few of them. Then, with the encouragement of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a private grammar school, in which Latin and Greek were taught, was founded and endowed at Charles Town in 1712. In the provision made for the master, slaves are mentioned as a part of his chattels.

While the most important impulse to prosperity was started in Craven's wise administration, the colony then had its greatest Indian troubles. After the Yamassees under Moore had helped to subdue the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, they suddenly resolved to do what they had prevented the Tuscaroras from doing—wipe out every white settlement south of Virginia. The colony's relations with the Indians, excepting a few tribes allied to the Spaniards, were so friendly that it had become the centre of a traffic extending from Cape Fear to beyond

the Savannah, from the Mobile to the Natches ; and the storehouses of the traders were scattered far and wide among the " tame and peaceable people." The traders travelled on foot sometimes a thousand miles into the Indian country for the skins of bear, beaver, wildcat, deer, fox, and raccoon. They had become deeply in debt to the Yamassees, and resented being called upon to settle their accounts. The savages' patience at length gave out. Their " bloody stick," or call to arms, was passed from village to village from the Cape Fear to the St. Johns. The Creeks and the Uchees united with them and on Good Friday of 1715 the colony was suddenly attacked in three places and many colonists were massacred. One family alone had warning and escaped. About two hundred settlers perished at the first onset. Governor Craven promptly called out the militia and armed some four hundred slaves. He led a force to meet the chief attack, while sending other expeditions to oppose the invasion at several points. But tribe after tribe rose against him ; the forest poured forth its warriors till perhaps nearly ten thousand were in the field. For a few days there were fears for Charles Town, whither Craven had hastily swept all the inhabitants of the outlying settlements, with their stores and goods. New York sent military supplies ; the North Carolinians did what little they could ; some very efficient aid came from Virginia, and from Spotswood personally, who also secured a small band of Indian allies. Craven's militia was especially well-drilled for a colonial force of that

time, and when they met the enemy near Port Royal in a general fight, they won a complete victory, and drove the redskins across the Florida border, there to be made welcome by the Spaniards, with whom they had been allied in the early days of Carolina. The war was soon over, and the frontier was immediately picketed by a line of rangers, after the policy which experience had taught the Virginians some thirty years before. "And the colony, though poorer by more than four hundred settlers and many of its pioneer settlements, remained in quiet possession of the broad territory that the fatuity of the savage rather than the prowess of the English had put in their hands." It was estimated that the colony lost one hundred thousand pounds through this brief war, besides incurring a debt in bills of credit of nearly equal amount.

The proprietors had given the people almost no assistance; nor would they provide any efficient measures for protecting them against the scalping-parties from Florida that continued to harass the frontier. But when settlers began to occupy the lands that had been vacated by the Yamassees, they made haste to claim the territory for the province, to the ruin of hundreds of the immigrants who were unable to meet the demands for rent and purchase money. In this desperate situation the colony was again attacked by pirates. In the early summer of 1718, after Craven's place had been taken by Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel, the wicked Blackbeard, tired of the reform he had promised in North

Carolina, blockaded Charles Town Harbour with his big frigate of forty guns and three sloops, carrying over four hundred of his desperadoes. They captured perhaps ten plucky sail that came out of the harbour; and then Blackbeard sent a list of food, drugs, and other things that he wanted, with a message that if they were not forthcoming within forty-eight hours, the Governor would receive the heads of all the pirates' prisoners, several of whom were important men of the colony captured on their way to England. The supplies were furnished in all haste; the prisoners were returned, one of them relieved of some six thousand dollars in money, all stripped even of their clothes. Blackbeard soon afterward met his fate in Pamlico Sound. A few months later, in the summer of 1718, this colony organised an expedition to capture another desperate gang; and Colonel William Rhett covered himself with glory by bringing the famous Major Stede Bonnett and his desperadoes to Execution Dock. By this and other captures the coast was cleared after a few years.

Again no help was received from the proprietors; the expense was met by a new issue of eight thousand pounds in bills of credit, and the people went through the experience many times repeated in the history of our country. Prices rose, debtors gained, while creditors and men on fixed salaries lost. English merchants, who comprised most of the creditors, ordered their agents to ship them any goods they could get from the planters indebted to them. The proprietors, in obedience to an Order

in Council, voted an impost duty on negroes and English goods, besides raising their rents fourfold to make good their incomes, and disallowing some of the colonists' revenue laws. They abruptly increased the number of councillors, appointing newcomers to outweigh the members who by long residence had become attached to the interests of the colony. At the next election not one man favourable to the proprietors was returned. The members-elect, at private meetings, resolved to have no more to do with them, and called upon the people to enter into an "association to stand by their rights and privileges." They named their grievances in a petition to the proprietors; and when, after patient waiting, they found that it received no attention, they indignantly made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Crown. A secret association was formed, chiefly through the agency of Alexander Skene, a planter from Barbadoes, and one day surprised the Governor, ignorant even of its existence, with the request that he should renounce the authority of the proprietors and declare himself to hold office under the Crown. Johnson refused, and summoned a parliament, which, however, in November, 1719, openly passed a resolution "to have no regard to the officers of the proprietaries or to their administration," and petitioned the Governor "to hold the reins of government for the King." Again he refused, although none of his associates were with him. Meantime, according to the custom, he had called for a public review of the militia, but revoked

the order when he saw the temper of the people. When the day came (December 21, 1719), to his amazement, he saw town and harbour gay with bunting. Salutes were fired, and the militia paraded, armed and in full uniform. His Excellency demanded of Colonel Paris under what authority he acted, and was answered, " By the authority of the Convention." The Governor ordered them to disperse. The Colonel replied, " The militia of South Carolina obeys the Convention." Then the Governor was told that if he would not transfer the government, it must be transferred without him.

Johnson, it is said, then rushed about among the crowd, remonstrating with man after man, and almost laying hands on them in his agitation. But no blood was shed. After he had again refused to join them, the Convention, in the name of the Crown, appointed the old raiding hero, Moore, as Governor, swore in a Council of other officers, and sent an agent to England to offer their submission, which George I. showed no hesitation in accepting. The proprietors were told that they had forfeited their charter.

Pending investigation, the King gave the people as their Governor for the next four years the energetic and experienced Francis Nicholson, a man whose policy was always to heal and to compose, to understand the likes and dislikes of the people, and to penetrate further than most of his class into the needs confronting them. He made the foremost leaders of the rebellion president of the Council and chief-justice, and allowed the parliament to

confirm the proceedings of the revolution. He discharged all suits for alleged wrongs during the late disturbances, regulated the administration of justice, reduced official fees, and established the system of local elections, the rejection of which by the proprietors had been the immediate cause of revolt. The parliament laid an impost for revenue on liquors and certain other articles, and on all slaves imported, entrusting the collection to a treasurer of their own appointment; but they declined to vote salaries except from year to year. Indeed, friendly as Nicholson was to their interests, he lamented the daily growth of the "spirit of the commonwealth maxims both in Church and State," charging it partly to the influence of the New Englanders who had a lively trade with Charles Town.

South Carolina then stood seventh in population; but it had only six thousand white persons, the smallest number in any of the colonies, and ten thousand five hundred blacks, the largest number of any colony except Virginia. There was not a public school; and, it has been said, no other colony in America was so destitute of churches and so wanting in religious feeling and responsibility. Nicholson put his hand in his own pocket generously while he aroused the planters to supply these deficiencies; but it was a heavy task, and in 1725 he returned to England, aged with nearly a quarter-century of devoted and often thankless labours among the American colonists.

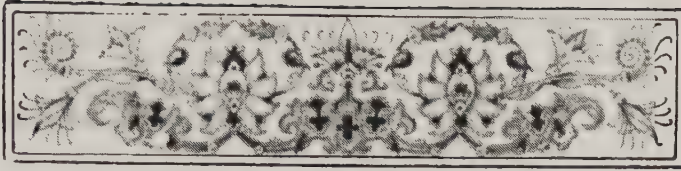
For the next three or four years, while the proprietors contended with the Crown for the appoint-

ment of his successor, the colony struggled on in virtual but quarrelsome independence, until the President of the Council in despair wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that "the government was reduced to the lowest extremity," "the royal prerogative was openly trampled on," and the Council insulted "by the delegates within doors, and the tumult without." Two years later the King purchased the province. The proprietors then were Henry, Duke of Beaufort, and his brother Lord Charles Somerset; Lord Craven; Lord Carteret, who refused to sell his share; John Cotton, the heirs of Sir John Colleton, James and Henry Bertie, Mary Dawson, and Elizabeth Moore.

Mr. Doyle says:

"The overthrow of the Proprietary system in South Carolina is a distinct step in the process whereby the various American colonists were trained in habits of self-government and fitted for the great struggle of fifty years later. Not unimportant in itself . . . it was far more important for the temper which it developed and confirmed."





CHAPTER XVI

THE GREATEST SLAVE-HOLDING PROVINCE

FOR the half-century of its existence as a royal province, South Carolina never was distinguished for obedience to the authority it had itself invoked. It "used every method of encroaching on the prerogative . . . and the small quit-rents of the King could never be rigorously exacted." During that period it had ten changes in the governor's chair; most of the time the colonists' own leaders were "acting" executives. Such celebrity as this province attained was chiefly for its patriotic aristocracy of educated and brilliant families, whose great wealth was created by the largest holdings of negro slaves in the colonies. This seems a strange growth from the poor and ill-regulated communities to which, in 1729, George II. sent back the proprietors' staunch representative, Robert Johnson, for the first four years of Crown government. With him came a present of munitions of war, orders for the remission of the arrears of quit-rents, and a plan for encouraging settlement by free gifts of land on all the chief rivers — the plan under which Purys-

burg, the first town on the Savannah, was settled by Swiss immigrants. But the House, strengthened by the example of Massachusetts, still refused to assure a fixed salary. Johnson said he could not secure "a fair rent-roll by any means." In 1733, there was great enthusiasm over the day's visit at Charles Town or Charleston and the landing at Beaufort of General James Oglethorpe, with his colony for the province of Georgia, set off upon the frontier which South Carolina had disputed with the Spaniards for three quarters of a century. William Bull, President of the Council, led many of the people in the "universal zeal for assisting its new alley and bulwarke."

Johnson died in office, in 1735; as did also Thomas Broughton, his successor, in whose time the Parliament established a fund for the aid of "poor Protestants who shall arrive in the Province and settle in the new townships."

For the next six years, the reins of government were in the able hands of William Bull. What share the colony had in the war with Spain was taken under the greatly admired Oglethorpe, who commanded the militia of this province as well as his own, until sympathy with the demand for slaves in Georgia raised a shameful cabal against him. About the same time, in 1740, occurred the burning of Charleston, and a general flight of negroes to Florida. The slaves of the province had long been in the habit of escaping to the Spaniards, who not only refused to return them to their owners, but organised them into military companies,

giving their officers the same rank and uniforms as the regular Spanish soldiers. By a prearranged plan, instigated, some think, by the Spaniards, the plantation hands at Stono Inlet, under a leader called Cato, rose against the whites, killing men, women, and children. Then they began to move down the country, gathering numbers as they went, in the direction of St. Augustine. The first alarm reached Wilton while the white people were at church; but as men went scarcely anywhere unarmed in those rough days, a strong force was ready on the instant to ride with Captain Bee and track the great unorganised host to a large field, where they were easily surrounded in the midst of a drunken revel. Some were killed, many taken prisoners, and the rest scattered. Orders were issued for the arrest of fugitives and of Spanish emissaries found in the province, and troops were detailed to watch the frontier. The whole insurrection was crushed quickly, but the terror it had inspired was not soon forgotten.

The burning of Charleston was a misfortune entailing benefits. The shabby old village, so destroyed, was rebuilt with wealth and taste at the beginning of this new, prosperous era of the colony. It became the commercial as well as the political capital. Ship-masters did not go directly to the landings of the plantations, as in other Southern Colonies, but were obliged to enter and clear at Charleston. A writer of the day says:

“They have a considerable trade, both to Europe and the West Indies, whereby they become rich and are

supplied with all things necessary for trade and genteel living which several other places fall short of. Their cohabiting in a town had drawn to them ingenious people of most sciences, whereby they have tutors amongst them that educate their youth *à la mode*."

Many cattle were shipped to the West Indies, besides corn and oak staves. Pine masts, boards, and lumber were sent to England, with tar and turpentine, on which there was a bounty. The trade in peltries also increased year by year; and silk, flax, hemp, tobacco, olives, and oranges were cultivated. But nothing yielded such great prosperity as rice. It was not subject to the severity of the mother country's Navigation Laws, and the plantations had so increased that by 1740 it added two hundred thousand pounds a year to the wealth of the colony. Next to it came indigo, which also was encouraged by a bounty from the British Parliament. It required less capital than rice, and thrived on land where that staple would not grow. There were no manufactures and practically no illicit trade to make the British merchant jealous; and he sent his products to Carolina, even "burdened with a tax, at less cost than . . . to the consumer in London."

The cream of this prosperity was skimmed at Charleston. There the masters of the great plantations lived with their families in magnificent mansions, patronising music and art, theatres and balls, giving dinner-parties, and developing the most cultivated and brilliant society of the South, perhaps of the whole country. The leaders were men who

gave their leisure to learning, to manly accomplishments, and to the service of the government, "disdaining payment"; men who, if they strengthened the prejudices of race, did so under some especially high standards. But scarcely anyone now denies that the means by which their wealth was made was a great blot on their scutcheon. The South Carolina planter of the middle of the eighteenth century seldom was a patriarch living among the "benighted children of Ham" who worked for him. He lived at Charleston or some other town, often far from his estates, visiting them on horseback but once or twice a year. The estates for the raising of rice or indigo were wholly in charge of overseers of such fibre as lash in hand could compel exhausting labour in malarious ditches from great gangs of "Heathen Africans," usually freshly imported, and still in wild resentment over their kidnapping and transportation. The cultivation of both rice and indigo was a deadly occupation; but a strapping negro could earn more than his price — then about forty pounds — within a year. As Mr. Fiske says:

"It was actually more profitable to work him to death than to take care of him," and "assuming, then, that human nature in South Carolina was neither better nor worse than in other parts of the civilised world," . . . it is easy to see that "diminutions in their numbers, due . . . to whatever cause, were [easily] repaired by fresh importations from Africa."

A company of British soldiers was in the province, ready to meet any insurrection, but no second one

ever arose. With every effort to avoid exaggeration, this is not a part of the story that makes pleasant reading. Mr. Doyle characterises South Carolina as "the very type of a slave-holding aristocracy"; adding, "If slavery had been confined to Virginia and Maryland, it might have died out in the eighteenth century, crushed beneath the weight of its moral and economical shortcomings. In Carolina it became a corner-stone of the political system, a motive power in the world's history."

Hildreth compares the luxury of the rice-growers to that of

"the sugar planters of the West Indies, with whom indeed they had much more affinity than with the colonists of the north. The children of the wealthy class were sent to England to be educated; and a new generation began to be raised up, including several young men of superior talents and accomplishments."

It is an interesting paradox that this aristocratic province was uniformly governed by democratic institutions. The parishes, into which the country had been laid off after the establishment of the Church of England, provided, Mr. Fiske declares, a

"system of local self-government . . . much the same as . . . it existed in England," and with "many of the functions which in New England were performed by the town meeting,—the superintendence of the poor, the maintenance of roads, the election of representatives to the Commons House of Assembly, and the assessment of local taxes. . . . The vestrymen . . . elected yearly by all the taxpayers of the

parish . . . were analogous to the selectmen of New England."

Governor James Glen, who began his thirteen years' term in 1743, wrote:

"Here levelling principles prevail; the frame of the civil government is unhinged; a governor if he would be idolised, must betray his trust; the people have got the whole administration in their hands; the election of members to the assembly is by ballot; not civil posts only, but all ecclesiastical preferments, are in the disposal or election of the people; to preserve the dependence of America in general, the constitution must be new modelled."

Glen secured from the Crown two more military companies, making three in this province, which with the four in New York then constituted the British standing army in North America.

When the last French and Indian War threatened this province, far as it was from the troubles of the Ohio Valley, it was one of the most eager for connections with the other colonies. Delegates made the long journey from Charleston to Albany, New York, in July, 1754, and took part in the great alliance then made with the Six Nations and their confederates. At home, Glen obtained, by treaty with the Cherokees, an extensive cession of land in the middle and upper part of the province; and forts were built on the Tennessee near Tellico, at the headwaters of that river and also of the Savannah, near the chief village of the Lower Cherokees. But it was almost impossible to raise militia to garrison

even these few posts, which were far from enough. After Glen was superseded by Governor William Lyttelton, a cadet of the noble family of that name, the parliament agreed to spend money for further defence. Thanks to the arrival of half a battalion of Royal Americans and troops from North Carolina and Virginia, the forts were garrisoned; and excepting some small frays with the Cherokees, this province was untouched by the bitter warfare in the northerly parts of the country.

In 1760, Lyttelton's place was taken by the Lieutenant-Governor, Dr. William Bull, son of the honoured President of the Council. The first native American, it is said, to obtain a medical degree, Bull was a graduate of Leyden, then the most distinguished school of medicine in Europe, and was a man of character and talents. As Lieutenant-Governor he remained at the head of South Carolina, excepting for short intervals, until it ceased to be a British province. In the first year of this administration, a bill was passed by the parliament to restrict the importation of negroes, but was rebuked so severely by the English authorities that it was dropped. The sentiment expressed by the Earl of Dartmouth fifteen years later was already strong in England: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." This difference, and the misbehaviour of Major-General Grant and other British officers in connection with the invasion and seizure of the Tennessee Valley, helped to alienate the affection of South Carolina,—never too ardent,—from the

mother country. Hard feeling was eased somewhat when rice, though an enumerated article, was allowed to go directly to any part of America south of Carolina and Georgia, on payment of a half-subsidy, so that broken and inferior rice could be sold as food for negroes.

But this did not lessen the alarm aroused by the fact that the province had more than one hundred thousand negroes and only about one quarter as many white people — not enough freemen, as the late war had shown, to provide ordinary defences. A bounty and other encouragements were offered to free white labourers; and in a few years the northern districts were rapidly settled by small bodies of Irish and Germans, and many New Englanders; not an unalloyed blessing, as time proved.

This province was one of the most vigorously resentful of the Stamp Act. The parliament embodied part of the famous New York pamphlet in their instructions to their agent in England. Massachusetts' call for a congress was declared to be "founded upon undeniable constitutional principles." The patriotic leaders who then came forward were Christopher Gadsden and the youthful John Rutledge. Gadsden "was a man of deep and clear convictions; thoroughly sincere; of an unbending will and a sturdy, impetuous integrity." He said, long afterward:

"Our State was the first, though at the extreme end, and one of the weakest, as well internally as externally, to listen to the call of our northern brethren in their

distress. Massachusetts sounded the trumpet, but to Carolina it is owing that it was attended to. Had it not been for South Carolina, no Congress would then have happened."

"Had it not been for Gadsden," is perhaps equally true. He wrote, "Nothing will save us, but acting together; the Province that endeavours to act separately must fall with the rest and be branded besides with everlasting infamy." In the evening after the resolution was passed, Governor Bull ordered the drum-beat which was the signal for the dissolution of the parliament; but the toast of the day in Charleston was to "the unanimous twenty-six." As one of the delegates, Gadsden spoke in New York with "irresistible impetuosity," his hearers said; doing more perhaps than any other one man to make the Congress effectual. The parliament approved the proceedings at once; and the same evening despatched copies of their resolutions to England. They did not wait for the circular letters of the New York Sons of Liberty to consider the formation of a permanent continental union. But when the Stamp Act was repealed the parliament, rejoicing precipitately, voted a statue of Pitt and granted every requisition, even for doubtful purpose, although they continually prayed for modifications of the Navigation Acts. On news of the Rescinding Act from Massachusetts they "could not enough praise the glorious ninety-two who would not rescind; toasting them at banquets, and marching by night through the streets of Charleston,

in procession to their honour, by the blaze of two and ninety torches."

In the next year, 1769, they refused to furnish quarters for the troops, and adopted the Virginia Resolutions; but in the same year they gave way in the long difference about official salaries, and voted perpetual grants, trusting to "the honour of the Crown" that the commissions of judges should be made permanent, a trust they soon saw betrayed in the displacement of the provincial judges by "worthless sycophants." Almost immediately the "sons of South Carolina esteemed themselves disfranchised on their own soil by the appointment of strangers to every office in the government"; for from the day when Lyttelton abruptly dismissed a Carolinian from the Council, no native citizen would permit himself to accept a seat in that body. Moreover, after the Governor refused to pass any appropriations which should cover the grant of the Assembly to the Society for the Bill of Rights, the House would pass no act, and patriot planters by their private credit and purses met the wants of colonial agents and committees. A climax was reached when the new Governor, Lord Charles Greville Montague, threatened to convene the parliament at Port Royal unless a palace were built for him at Charleston.

It was about this time that the better class of settlers in the new northern districts mustered as a volunteer armed body, under the name of Regulators, to protect their property from horse-thieves and other desperado neighbours, who had come in

under the bounty. The roughs immediately raised a cry to the Governor against the forcible measures taken to make them behave themselves, and claimed trial by jury. Soon the whole country was divided into two parties, for and against the trial by jury. One Scoville, appointed by Montague to investigate the matter, sent some of the Regulators to Charleston, and bloodshed was saved probably by the establishment of district courts. But the parties thus drawn up retained their bitterness and transferred their quarrel to the great issue of the day; the Regulators, taking the side of the colonists, were called Whigs, and "Scovillite" was synonymous with Tory. Montague had departed and Bull was again in authority when the first great commotion arose in 1773 over the Council's imprisonment of Thomas Powell, the publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette* (founded in 1731), for alleged contempt. The Council's power to imprison on their mere warrant was denied, and was finally overruled by the patriot Rawlins Lowndes and another magistrate, before whom Powell was taken on a writ of *habeas corpus* and released. That same year, when a ship arrived laden with over two hundred and fifty chests of tea, the consignee was persuaded to decline to receive it; and, although after the twentieth day it was seized by the collector, "there was no one to vend it, or to pay the duty, and it perished in the cellars where it was stored." After the Governor had for four years negatived every tax bill in the hope of controlling the appropriations, a Committee of Ninety-three called a



MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

From a Painting by Col. J. Trumbull.

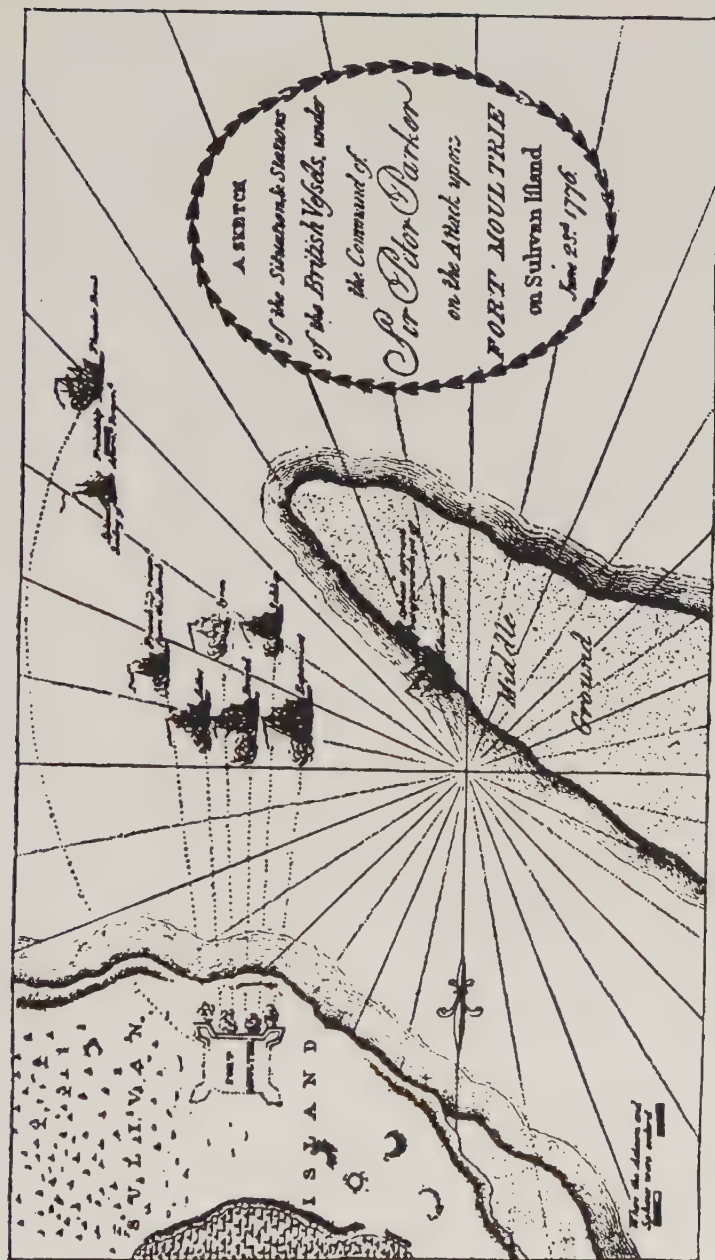
Provincial Convention, sending to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia Gadsden and John and Edward Rutledge,—men who took rank at once among the leaders. It was the “impetuous and plain-spoken” Gadsden who seconded the two Adamses in their radical views on colonial union and their disbelief in the much talked of accommodation of difficulties; and proposed to drive Gage out of Boston before he could be reinforced. But he was the only one of the South Carolina delegates in favour of the American Association, and could scarcely prevail upon his colleagues to sign the Articles, even after an exception in favour of rice had been inserted in the non-exportation clause. The Provincial Convention, however, promptly appointed a Committee of Inspection to enforce the Articles, and named delegates to the Second Congress. In June of that same year (1775) the Convention adopted an Association drawn up by Henry Laurens, its president. It provided for a Committee of Safety, the issue of six hundred thousand pounds in paper money, and the raising of two regiments to be under the newly commissioned Colonels, Gadsden and Moultrie.

When the new Governor, Lord William Campbell, arrived in the midst of these proceedings, he was received with courtesy; but his parliament declined to transact any business, and soon adjourned by its own authority. Meantime, the Committee of Safety completed the defences of the province, the two regiments of militia were increased to five, an English powder ship was seized and brought into

the harbour, and Moultrie with little difficulty took possession of the fort on Sullivan's Island, which he began to rebuild. The Tory spirit was strong only among the back-country German and Scotch settlers, where, it was said, Campbell had set on foot secret negotiations to engage the Cherokees against the Association. By the spring of 1776, patriotic judges of the courts had refused to act; and as a temporary measure, "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, an event, which though traduced and treated as rebels we still earnestly desire," the Convention resolved itself into a Provisional Assembly, chose from its own body a legislative council, elected John Rutledge president and Henry Laurens vice-president, and adopted a constitution of independent government "to continue to the 21st of October next and no longer." This was on March 24th, nearly two months before the Continental Congress advised the colonies to take such action.

On June 28th, Moultrie's half-finished fort was bombarded by a British squadron commanded by Lord Cornwallis, which received more damage than it inflicted. Major-General Charles Lee — not yet turned traitor — wrote to Washington:

"The cool courage they displayed astonished and enraptured me, for I do assure you, my dear General, I never experienced a hotter fire. Twelve full hours it was continued without intermission. The noble fellows who were mortally wounded, enjoined their brethren never to abandon the Standard of Liberty."



THE ATTACK ON FORT MOULTRIE BY THE BRITISH FLEET, 1776.

From that day the fortification on Sullivan's Island has been known as Fort Moultrie.

Even with this experience, three of the delegates in the Continental Congress opposed as premature the motion for independence; but the Provisional Assembly approved it; and, on the resignation of Hancock of Massachusetts, Henry Laurens was made president of the Congress. In the next year a provisional constitution of the State of South Carolina was adopted; which was replaced by a permanent constitution two years later, in December, 1778.





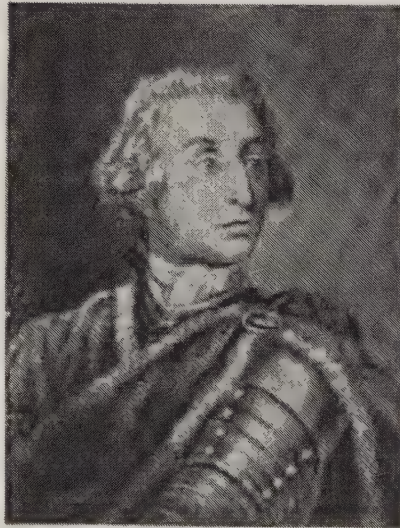
CHAPTER XVII

GEORGIA, THIRTEENTH COLONY—TWENTY YEARS OF COMPULSORY VIRTUE

SLAVERY AND CROWN GOVERNMENT

THREE years after George II. bought the Carolinas from the proprietors, on June 9, 1732, he chartered as the province of Georgia the wilderness between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, which for three quarters of a century had been the bloody frontier of South Carolinians and Spaniards. It was known by the latter, apparently, to contain gold in the Cherokee region. In 1717, Sir Robert Montgomery had secured from the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of the province of Carolina a grant of the country between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, which "most delightful country of the Universe" he intended to make into the Margravate of Azilia. He drew much attention to this territory, but failed to colonise it, and fifteen years afterwards there was but the one little settlement of Purysburg on the Savannah, which was not made by him, in all the region of which he wrote, "Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed at most but equal to its native excellencies."

When this wilderness was erected into the Thirteenth Colony, it was named in honour of the King; but the glory is more fitly due to the memory of the valiant soldier, statesman, and philanthropist, George James Oglethorpe. It was his plan to occupy it with fortified towns, which should be not only a bulwark against the Spaniards, but a refuge for all the persecuted Protestants of Europe, and a place where English debtors and other minor offenders might escape the hopeless wretchedness of their prisons, begin life anew, and make an honest living with their own hands. It was to be the poor man's paradise. All land was to be entailed



GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

upon the male heirs of the settlers. No holdings larger than five hundred acres, no slaves, no liquor were to be allowed. All forms of Christianity except the Roman Catholic were to be protected. With these exceptions, the inhabitants were promised "all the rights of natural-born subjects in Great Britain." The King, admitting the soundness of the military policy, and the economy of ridding England of a

useless and expensive class of people, sanctioned Oglethorpe's great undertaking, which was the beginning of England's last large westward emigration—fifty years after the exodus to Pennsylvania—and which completed her occupation of the Atlantic seaboard between French Canada and Spanish Florida. Upon the understanding that it was to be a royal province and military defence, and that the sanction of the King in Council was necessary before any act of the government became a law, his Majesty ceded the management for twenty-one years to twenty English gentlemen identified with Oglethorpe in his efforts for prison reform, who were to hold it in trust for the poor. Their names still survive in the divisions of the city of Savannah, the original "wards" and "tithings" of the first settlement. The King's grants were increased by Lord Carteret's cession of his portion of Carolina.

The trustees' government, according to the motto on their seal, "*Non sibi, sed aliis*," was to insure that the rich territory should be "not for themselves, but for others"; no trustee was allowed to receive a grant of land either directly or indirectly. The management of affairs was vested in a Common Council of the trustees at the head of which was the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury. The plantation was entrusted to Oglethorpe, who was not then forty years of age. As Governor and military commander for ten years he was the soul of the undertaking. The flower of an old English family honoured in courts and in camps for generations, he had gained his experience in many positions, among others in

that of aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene in the Turkish campaign, and had served his country in Parliament, where he had done much for the reform of flagrant civil abuses, especially in the prisons. With the King as patron, with a board of trustees held in high esteem for uprightness and public spirit, and with Oglethorpe to command the emigration, the colony prospered from the outset. Subscriptions poured in to the trustees, the Bank of England heading the list of public institutions. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel promised to aid the good work among the colonists and Indians. Clergymen and noblemen took out commissions to collect funds. Merchants, believing that wine and silk would be made the staples of the colony, were even more zealous than the soldiers and statesmen, who had become convinced that the rich but apparently ungovernable province of South Carolina would never make a barrier against the Spaniards.

Seven months after the charter was signed, in January, 1733, the good ship *Anne* landed Oglethorpe and thirty-five families, one hundred and fourteen persons, at Beaufort, South Carolina, as near as possible to the northern boundary of the province. They had stopped for a day at Charleston, where the city did its utmost to make them welcome. The rich planters made Oglethorpe pre-



GREAT SEAL OF GEORGIA IN
COLONIAL DAYS.

sents of cattle, goats, and quantities of rice, which had made their own fortunes. William Bull, the President of the South Carolina Council, joined Oglethorpe with an exploring party, which went with him about twenty miles up the Savannah River, and chose for the first plantation and capital the high, sandy "Yamacraw Bluff," covered with pine trees, where there was a small settlement of the Creek branch of the great Muskogi nation of Indians. Tomo Chichi, the chief of the Creeks, was persuaded that it would be to his advantage to allow the English to make a settlement there, through the fortunate accident of the explorers' meeting with Mary Musgrave, the daughter of a Creek mother and some roving English father, and herself the wife of an English trader.

Within six weeks the colonists were at work, with the help of experienced settlers and hired labourers from South Carolina, laying out Savannah, clearing and building upon Oglethorpe's plan for a settlement that should grow symmetrically into a beautiful town — as indeed it has become one of the most attractive cities in the country.

The settlers had been carefully chosen by the trustees. Though poor, they were no such scum of the earth as had been cast out upon Virginia a hundred years before, and as France was then landing at New Orleans to people Louisiana. Many of the heads of the first Georgia families were men of good character, in debt through misfortune, whose creditors willingly released them for small payments made by the trustees. Some were farmers, small

merchants, or workingmen out of employment. They had a clergyman, and several of them were appointed as church officers before they started. Others were named for town officers. They were an intelligent, reading community, well supplied with Bibles, prayer-books, and catechisms. "There are no idlers here," wrote a visitor from Charleston; "even the boys and girls do their part."

Although malaria caused some sickness, and there was disappointment over the carefully started silkworms and vineyards, Savannah was spared the scourge of fevers and heart-sickness that usually attack new settlements. In March, Oglethorpe wrote to the trustees:

"Our people still lie in tents, there being only two clapboard houses built and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery, cannon and magazine, are furnished. This is all we have been able to do, by reason of the smallness of our numbers, of which many have been sick, and others unused to labour; though I thank God they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here."

It is said that Oglethorpe lived for nearly a year in the tent that was pitched for him beneath the beautiful pine trees.

The plan of Savannah covered a large square on the top of the bluff, guarded on the landward sides by a battery of five cannon. It was laid off into four squares or wards, each of which had a spacious reserve, also a square, large enough to contain the inhabitants of its corresponding out-ward, as a

defended place of retreat for the outside settlements which were soon begun. The streets were broad, and ran at right angles, with little parks at alternate crossings. The house lots were sixty feet by ninety; to each belonged a five-acre garden plot, situate near by, and a farm of forty-five acres, farther inland. The houses, all of them after the same model, were twenty-four feet by sixteen on the ground, framed of sawed timber, floored with rough deal, sided with unplanned feather-edged boards, and roofed with shingles. The streets, the wards, and the tithings or subdivisions were formally named for the trustees, the patrons and leaders of the enterprise. A battery was built on the river, below the town; and near the mouth a light-house was begun on Tybee Island. The inland villages were soon laid out and settled, every four of them constituting an out-ward, each corresponding to a town-ward. In the other direction, a path through the woods was cut to a fertile spot on the river where an experimental garden of ten acres was laid out for vines, mulberry trees, valuable drug-producing plants and exotics.

Tomo Chichi was happy in the possession of new friends and neighbours who had paid him well for his land while still allowing him and his people certain rights in the midst of their settlement, to say nothing of the gratification of his boundless curiosity in all the unheard-of things they were doing. Oglethorpe learned to talk with him in the Muskogi language. It is said that Tomo Chichi gave him a buffalo skin painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle; and that he said: "Here is a



TOMO CHICHI.
From an old Print.

little present. The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection, therefore love and protect our little families." Captain McPherson and a company of Scotch Highlanders built Fort Argyle, on the Ogeechee River. The trustees sent another company of respectable debtors, and at about the time of their arrival came an unexpected party, not from the trustees,—forty Jews, who were unwelcome at first, but at length were accepted and acknowledged as a benefit to Savannah. The trustees spread news of the new colony among the persecuted Protestants throughout Europe. They paid the charges of the long journey from the eastern Alps to the western savannahs for the first party of exiled Salzburgers, who immediately began a settlement for themselves, and others who followed them, in the evangelical community which they piously called Ebenezer.

But the trustees in their haste to people the territory allowed many unworthy prisoners to follow the *Anne's* respected company; shiftless, lazy fellows, who would not work, but occupied their time chiefly in spreading dissatisfaction with the law of entail and the regulations against large land-holdings, slaves, and liquor selling. The use of rum was said to be necessary in that climate, and few cared to furnish proof to the contrary. The grumblers said that it was plentiful in Carolina, and that nothing could keep it from crossing the border. They talked in the same manner about slaves. They were opposed by Scotch and German settlers; but many of

the English immigrants, says Stevens, declared that they were disappointed in the quality and fertility of their lands. Unwilling to labour, they hung for support upon the trustees' store. They were clamorous for privileges to which they had no right, and fomented discontent and faction where it was hoped they would live together in brotherly peace and charity.

No other colony had left England like this chance gathering of beneficiaries so heavy with misfortunes that they landed and began their settlements without any voice in their own government. Perhaps Oglethorpe saw that as soon as the prison-worn fugitives had breathed the air of the New World and regained the measure of their stature as freeborn Englishmen they would become restive against the trustees' well-meant confinement to a modest prosperity under paternal care; that they would demand their own government and room to put forth the same efforts as other men in the southern provinces to acquire great plantations, own slaves, and join the landed aristocracy. He himself led the opposition to slavery; but as early as the second spring it was necessary for him to make the long voyage back to England to explain the colonists' views to the trustees, to secure authority for the extension of military operations, and to look after a thousand and one details for the temporal and spiritual well-being of his cherished plantation. He took with him Tomo Chichi and several other Creek chiefs, who were presented at Court, entertained, and shown off to their intense delight. Queen Caroline had

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their portraits painted and judiciously scattered as presents. Oglethorpe carried with him eight pounds of silk raised in Georgia, which was made into a robe for the Queen. Altogether, this visit gave a great impulse to the enthusiasm for the Thirteenth Colony. When the founder returned after an absence of two years he commanded the "Grand Embarkation" of three hundred English people and another party of Moravians to swell the settlements, with extensive supplies for building fortifications on St. Simon's Island at the mouth of the Altamaha.

The zealous preachers John and Charles Wesley also accompanied him, the latter acting as his secretary. Both of them were eager to make conversions among red men and white to their special form of religion, which afterwards took the name of Methodism; but, as Charles confessed, they were as yet undisciplined to a peaceful possession of their souls, and they left the colony after two years, to be remembered quite as much for their discords, perhaps, as for their spiritual exaltations. As the Wesleys departed, a man destined to leave a deeper impression in America made his entrance. George Whitefield, the celebrated Calvinist clergyman, who had journeyed, with neither staff nor scrip, up and down the colonies, became minister at Savannah in 1738, thereby predestinating the Georgians to Calvinistic Methodism. Part of his work was to establish a charity projected by the trustees,—a home for orphans. Whitefield threw himself into this good work, making it celebrated throughout the country by his tireless journeys and subscription-compelling eloquence,

By this time the colony had increased nearly ten-fold. Fortified settlements and groups of farms had sprung up on the river, both above and below Savannah, with the frontier post called Augusta at the head of navigation. Several new settlements were made on the Ogeechee, the most important, perhaps, by a band of Moravians under Count Spangenberg. The Puritan town of Dorchester, after an existence of some fifty years in South Carolina, removed to the river Midway, between Savannah and the Altamaha. On the Altamaha, New Darien was founded by a strong company of Scotch Highlanders led, by their minister, John McLeod. Oglethorpe himself founded Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, with most of the people of the "Grand Embarkation." With the aid of volunteers from the other settlements, he built there the main fortress of the colony, besides the frontier post of Fort Edward, farther south on Cumberland Island near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, which the Spaniards admitted to be the boundary of Florida. The English wished to push their frontier beyond the St. Mary's to the St. John's River, and Oglethorpe built an outpost on the southern end of Amelia Island; but the Spaniards immediately gave him good reason to retire to the St. Mary's, where he lodged his people in palmetto bowers made on forks and poles in regular rows. Even then, Oglethorpe hastened to England to inform the King that his military colony was no child's play, that the Spaniards resented the whole proceeding, and that nothing but a strong armament would



protect it from damaging attacks, ending probably in ruin.

In the fall of 1738, Oglethorpe returned a brevet-colonel in the British army and military commander of Georgia and the Carolinas, under orders "to give no offence, but to repel force by force." He brought a newly enlisted regiment of regulars. A company of South Carolina militia eagerly volunteered their services to the popular "general," as he was commonly styled. The Highland settlers of Georgia increased Oglethorpe's force; but others, especially the Moravians, refused to take up arms, holding principles similar to those of the Quakers. As the Spaniards gave much attention to their alliance with the Indians, the most serious part of Oglethorpe's generalship was, perhaps, his relation with the great native nations that lay between him and the enemy. The whole Muskogi nation had adopted him as a "father." The chiefs came to his tent without ceremony, and talked directly with him in their own language. By his tact, and the admiration and respect felt for him, he had already established a wide and powerful alliance with all their tribes and tributaries.

"In the summer of 1739," says Bancroft, "the Muskohgees held a council in Cusitas, on the Chattahoochee. Oglethorpe entered the large square council-place, distributed presents and renewed and explained their covenants. The Muskohgees declared that by ancient rights they were the lords of that country from the St. John's to the Savannah, and from the sea to the mountains, and that they ceded to the English all of that coast

country as far inland as the tide flows. The right to occupy it was vested in the Trustees of Georgia, who agreed not to take up any part of it without the consent of the native owners."

Upon Oglethorpe's return to Savannah from this council he found orders from England to attack Florida. While the Creeks were making ready to join the Highlanders and the South Carolinians, he led his regiment of regulars to the capture of Fort Picolata over against St. Augustine, opening his way up the St. John's and cutting off the enemy from their forts at St. Mark's and Pensacola. Money and men were quickly raised in North Carolina and in Virginia, and in the spring of 1740, the commander reviewed the goodly number of twelve hundred militia and as many more savage allies, besides several ships of war. In May, an attack was made on St. Augustine; but that old castle was more strongly fortified and better garrisoned than the English suspected. Oglethorpe fell back to contend with serious troubles on his own side of the boundary. The South Carolina friendship had begun to cool, through military jealousies and a strong sympathy with the Georgians' desire for large land-holdings, slaves, and liquor. While this discontent fostered calumnies against Oglethorpe, he was on the alert for the external enemy, who made their appearance in June, 1742. By most gallant movement and artful strategy, though with an inferior force, he repelled a formidable attack on St. Simon's Island, proving with what skill the defences of



ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

Frederica had been laid out. He soon forced a "sorry and almost ludicrous conclusion" upon the last serious attempt of Spain to assert herself north of the Altamaha River. The next year he again carried war to the very walls of St. Augustine. He himself was attacked during this time in England, not on the real grievance, his opposition to rum and negroes, but by a bill in Parliament making dastardly charges of extravagance and peculation. Thomas Stevens, the son of the trustees' aged and honoured colonial secretary, presented this bill to the House of Commons. After careful investigation it was pronounced false, scandalous, and malicious; and Stevens was called to the bar to be reprimanded on his knees. But Parliament resolved that "it will be to the advantage of the Colony of Georgia to permit the importation of rum." An effort to allow the importation of negro slaves was defeated. Then Oglethorpe went to England to meet another charge, brought by his own lieutenant-colonel, a man who owed everything to him. The accuser was convicted of falsehood and deprived of his commission, while Oglethorpe was promoted to the rank of major-general and assigned to service against Prince Charles Stuart, the Pretender. He never returned to Georgia.

He had left the colony under a president and four councillors, who made many changes in the next four years. They could give little satisfaction, because the trustees still made the laws, subject to the approval of the King in Council, and the colonists still cried for slaves, drinking their hard-won

rum in a constant toast to "the one thing needful." It is no wonder that they wished to become masters of broad acres and great fortunes, but it is strange to find George Whitefield the leader of their cause. He who had poured forth eloquence on his fellow-feeling for the negroes in his early visit to the Carolinas and Virginia, now tuned his note to the popular cry — for the popular reason, to make money, not for himself but for his Orphan House at Savannah. After pleading in vain for the privilege in Georgia, he actually invested in a slave plantation in South Carolina, and publicly thanked God for its prosperity, while he complained to the trustees of the inconvenient laws which compelled him to have his plantation so far away from his orphans. Nearly all the colony, high and low, were with him, except the Scotch and the Salzburgers, who kept up a strong opposition. Their leaders were traduced, threatened, persecuted. After a time many brought into this province gangs of negroes hired from South Carolina planters. The next step was open defiance.

At length the trustees yielded; slaveholding was allowed on condition that all masters, under "a mulct of £5" should compel their negroes "to attend at some time on the Lord's Day for instruction in the Christian religion"—one reason perhaps why the negroes about Savannah have always been peculiarly religious people, and mostly Methodists. The trustees also modified their regulations about land, and made one or two changes toward giving the colonists more voice in their own affairs, but at length, discouraged and acknowledging their experiment

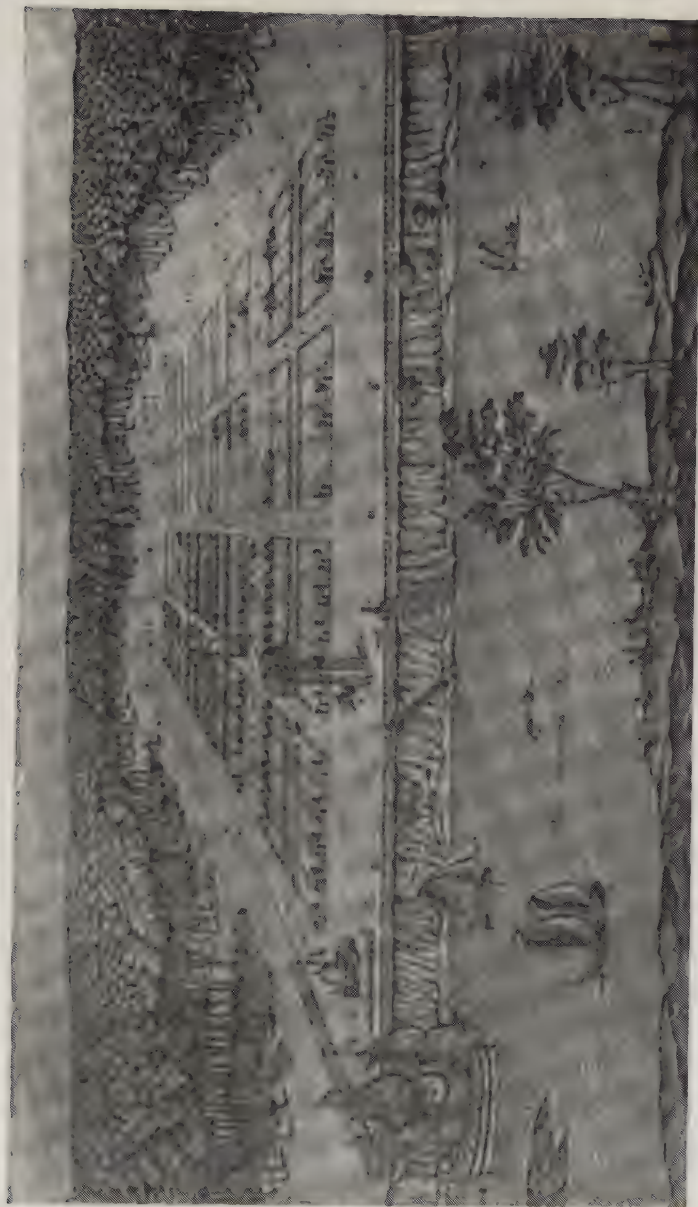
a failure, gave up their government to the Crown. Their records show that after nearly twenty years and an outlay of £154,200—equal in our day to a million and a half of dollars—they had a colony of but seventeen hundred white people, besides four hundred negroes. Projects for raising wine and drugs had failed utterly; silk and indigo were as yet forlorn hopes. The total exports of the last three years had been but little over three thousand pounds in value.

SLAVERY AND CROWN GOVERNMENT

Georgia was made a royal province in 1752, and after two years the government was set up by Governor John Reynolds, a captain in the British navy, who called a provincial parliament at Savannah, in which the colonists were represented by nineteen delegates. To be eligible to the Legislature, a colonist must own five hundred acres of land; while the right to vote for delegates was at first restricted to owners of fifty acres, though afterwards extended to holders of town lots. The opening of this Assembly was a great occasion to the little colony. The Governor made a "modest and judicious speech," and the House a complimentary reply. It is elaborately recorded that the government was almost overthrown by the machinations of Deputy Edmund Gray, "a pretended Quaker and fugitive from justice in Virginia," who had a scheme to engross the Indian trade for his own profit. But this disaster was averted; Gray and four of his fellow-conspirators were expelled from the House, and the

legislators proceeded to pass enactments " for training the militia, laying out roads, regulating fences, erecting a market at Savannah, keeping up the lighthouse at Tybee Island, . . . the government of slaves, . . . and issuing a paper loan of £3,000," which last was quashed by the Board of Trade.

Governor Reynolds found Savannah a town of " about a hundred and fifty houses, all wooden ones, very small and mostly old "; and at Frederica the fortifications " entirely decayed and the houses falling down." For the last French and Indian War, then being waged in the northerly provinces, twenty rangers were all he could enlist as the colony's quota of troops; nor could he and the Assembly agree on providing for them. For four years Georgia had not even sufficient defence for herself, to say nothing of taking part in the general conflict. After two years, Reynolds was so involved in quarrels with the representatives that he was replaced for four years by Henry Ellis, whose qualifications for the office were taken for granted with his prestige as a northern explorer and protégé of the Earl of Halifax. The Assembly voted money at once for building log forts at Savannah, Augusta, Ogeechee, Midway, and New Inverness; while Ellis made it one of his first duties to see to the " preservation of a good understanding with the neighbouring Creeks and with the Spanish governor of Florida. The rangers were taken into the King's pay, and Ellis obtained from Colonel Bouquet, commanding in South Carolina, a hundred provincial



SAVANNAH.

From a Print published in London in 1741.

troops of Virginia, to be quartered in Savannah." This energetic Governor also accomplished the division of the province into eight parishes, and the establishment of the Church of England by law, with a salary of twenty-five pounds a year to each parish minister; which failed to attract a strong set of men. Besides this, he healed many personal grievances, the greatest of which was a dispute of twelve years' standing with Mary Musgrave, Matthews, or Bosomworth, names which the Creek half-breed interpreter took from her three successive husbands. She had rendered valuable services to the founders of the colony, and now claimed certain lands near Savannah and large arrears of salary. The settlement of these claims was especially important because Mary had almost the entire Creek nation behind her, and at times the obstinate settlers had been threatened with the horrors of an Indian war.

In 1760, after Ellis resigned on account of failing health, James Wright became Governor. His term marks the beginning of a new movement in agriculture in Georgia. He believed that the soil of swamps and lowlands along the coasts and rivers could grow rice. As soon as he had proved it, plantations grew numerous and prosperous, and after thirty years Georgia "began to emerge from long feebleness and poverty." Indigo also was raised, and large cargoes of lumber were shipped to England. The political change in Europe through which Florida was ceded to England gave peace to the frontier. In 1763, the year of the Treaty of

Paris, and of Pontiac's Rebellion,—which did not touch this region,—the *Georgia Gazette*, the colony's first newspaper, was started.

In the general resistance against the oppressions of the mother country, the people here were regarded as "backward," although when Governor Wright refused to summon the Assembly on receiving notice of the Stamp Act, the Speaker of the House, after consulting with the majority of the members, sent a letter to New York approving the proposed Congress and promising to accept its measures. Representatives and people refused to comply with the Quartering Act until the withdrawal of troops left the province exposed to the Indians without and negroes within, and compelled them to make suitable provision for the King's soldiers. In the next year, 1768, the Assembly was dissolved for approving the proceedings of Massachusetts and Virginia. When the call was made to the first Continental Congress, Governor Wright again prevented the election of delegates. In the autumn after that memorable summer another trouble threatened; and what might have been a serious affair between the Indians and the settlers of the recently ceded lands of the Creeks and Cherokees was prevented by the Governor's proclaiming a suspension of trade instead of a call to arms, and securing a new treaty of peace.

Meantime Savannah had become a lively port and was beginning to develop some city life; but the colony as a whole was a scattered group of rough frontier settlements, with neither churches nor schools, mails nor roads. In 1770, there were

about fifty thousand people, probably half of them negroes. Of the whites a few were sturdy Scotch, Irish, and Germans, who worked with their own hands, lived piously and frugally, opposed to rum and negroes. The rest were either shiftless, lawless "mean whites," or owners of fast-growing rice and indigo plantations, a few of them, near Savannah, living on their estates in the fine old Virginia style; but most of them, following the South Carolina model, lived in the capital and let their overseers work their great gangs of negroes literally "for all they were worth."

In the early part of 1775, the committee of Christ Church parish sent to the other parishes of the province a call to a convention to meet at the same time with the General Assembly. Seven out of the twelve sent their representatives, but the Governor's influence was still sufficient to prevent them from adopting the Articles of the American Association. The numerous Scotch Highlanders here, as in almost all the Colonies, were mostly for the King. By the next spring, and the time for the second Congress, the parish of St. John's, including the district about the river Midway, had resolved to assert itself and to send a man to the Continental Congress. Their choice, Lyman Hall, was received at Philadelphia as the representative of his constituents, but was not allowed to vote. A few months later "the flame had spread in Georgia beyond the power of Governor Wright to quench it." In Savannah a popular meeting appointed a Council of Safety, with William Cawin as president; the powder

magazine of the city was rifled; and at length a provincial convention was again summoned. Then this colony, hitherto "the defective link in the American chain," adopted the Articles of the Association and appointed its delegates to Congress. A powder ship which lay in the mouth of the river was seized, and a part of its contents forwarded to



OLD FORT, WHERE POWDER MAGAZINE WAS SEIZED IN 1775.

the camp about Boston. Warning proclamations were unheeded, and Stuart, a pronounced royalist, who was agent for the southern Indians, sought safety at St. Augustine. One regiment, all that the little province was likely to be able to raise, was called for by Congress. Then the Governor summoned the Assembly to meet early in 1776; but he found himself ignored, and the colony, through the Convention, calmly choosing an executive council,

of which Archibald Bullock was appointed president, and making other preparations to administer its own affairs. In February his protestations were answered by men in arms, and he was made a prisoner in his own house, from which, forfeiting his parole, he escaped to one of the sloops of war lying below Savannah. Upon this a call was issued for half the militia of the province under McIntosh, to watch the ships. Hardly more than three hundred men mustered.

The whole colony then numbered about five thousand men, but so many of the inhabitants were not in sympathy with the Convention, especially the wealthier planters who were dissatisfied with the non-exportation agreement of the Association, that reinforcements were asked of South Carolina. When these came, McIntosh undertook to dismantle a number of vessels which lay in the river, loaded with rice and other produce. The ships of war came up to their rescue and made a lively skirmish, out of which they carried most of the rice. Meantime a provincial regiment was authorised, of which McIntosh was appointed colonel, and for which there was little hope of recruits short of North Carolina.

In Philadelphia, Dr. Zubly, one of the delegates and the Presbyterian minister of Savannah, showed so much alarm at the proceedings that "He was charged by Chase of Maryland with having violated the injunction of secrecy by sending letters to Governor Wright, whose flight was not yet known in Philadelphia." After that the doctor suddenly left

the city and a colleague was sent in pursuit of him ; thus only three of Georgia's representatives signed the Declaration.

In February of the next year, the Convention framed a constitution, and the administration of the State of Georgia began in May, 1777.





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